THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA



BUDDHA
(Gandhāra School, *c.* 300)

THE OXFORD STUDENT'S HISTORY OF INDIA

BY

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Revised by

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BOOK I

ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER I

The geographical foundation of history; the physical features of India

Geography the foundation of history. 'Geography is', as has been well said, 'the foundation of all historical knowledge.' The history of India, like that of other lands, cannot be understood unless regard is paid to the physical features of the stage on which the long drama of her story has been played, and before we attempt a rapid survey of the actors' deeds we must pause to consider the manner in which the position and structure of India have affected human action.

Boundaries of India. The India with which we are concerned is the distinct geographical unit bounded on the north by the ranges of the Himālaya and Karakoram, on the north-west by the mountains to the west of the Indus, on the north-east by the hills of Assam and Cāchār, and everywhere else by the sea. The unit so defined includes both a continental area, outside the tropics, extending from the mouths of the Indus in N. lat. 25° on the west to the mouths of the Ganges in about N. lat. 23° on the east, and a triangular peninsular area within the tropics, terminating at Cape Comorin, N. lat. 8° 4′. The northern land frontier measures about 1,600, the north-western about 1,200 and the north-eastern about 500 miles. The length of the sea-coast may be taken as 3,400 miles, more or less.

Physical isolation of India. The leading fact in the position above described as affecting history is the obvious physical

isolation of India. In ancient times, when no power attempted to assert full command of the sea, a country so largely surrounded by the ocean was inaccessible for the most part, and could be approached by land through its continental section only. The north-eastern hills and the gigantic Himālayan and Karakoram ranges present comparatively few passable openings, and none easy of passage for considerable bodies of men. But the hills west of the Indus are pierced by many passes more or less open. The main land gates of India are on her north-western frontier, and this physical fact dominated her history for thousands of years.

Isolation destroyed by command of the sea. The command of the sea acquired by the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately inherited by the British has destroyed the isolation of India. To a modern power possessing an adequate fleet, the sea is a bond of union not a barrier of separation, and so it has come about that India, while separated from the adjoining continental empires of Russia, Persia, and China by mountain ramparts, has been closely bound to the remote island of Great Britain by means of the British control of the ocean routes.

Modern importance of the ports. The ports are now the main gates, and the north-western passes are but posterns. No hostile force entering India by any of the ancient land routes could hold more than a limited area in the north-west against a power exercising command of the sea. While the traveller from Bombay easily reaches London in a fortnight, Delhi is still almost as far from Ghaznī or Samarkand as it was in the days of Mahmūd and Bābur.

Distribution of the great cities. In former times the great cities and capitals of states were built inland and usually on the banks of rivers, which offered the best means of communication and transport. Now, the position of the greatest cities is determined by the facilities for harbour accommodation, and it is desirable that the capital of the empire should be in close

touch with the sea. Bombay owes her modern greatness solely to her magnificent natural harbour, which enables her to deal with the commerce of the world. Calcutta, although not so favoured by nature, is still a great port, and as such was well qualified to be the imperial capital, as it was from 1774 to 1912. The remoteness from the sea is a serious disadvantage to Delhi, the present official capital.

Want of harbours on the east coast. The lack of good harbours on the eastern coast fit for big modern ships has killed or half killed the ancient towns on that side of India. Ports which were good enough for the tiny vessels of ancient times are of no use for the great steamers of these days. Madras, in order to save herself from ruin, has been obliged to supply natural deficiency by the construction of an artificial harbour at enormous cost. Most of the harbours on the eastern side of India, such as they were, have become so choked with sand and silt as to be almost useless, even for small coasting craft. This physical change has involved the utter ruin of famous old ports, Kāvirīpaddanam, Korkai, and others.

Air transport. Air transport is still in its infancy, but it has had an immense influence upon India both from the civil and the military point of view. It has reduced the time between India and England to a matter of hours, and Karachi has already become one of the great airports on the imperial air route running between the British Isles and Australia. India is rapidly becoming covered with a network of internal airways. Air transport has its dangers as well as its advantages. Aeroplanes can fly over the highest mountain ranges with ease, and can land troops and drop bombs anywhere at will. India will have to be prepared to defend herself from invasion by air as well as by land and sea in the future.

Natural division between north and south. Next in importance to the physical isolation of India, as it existed for countless years, is the natural separation of the north from the south effected by the broad belt of hill and forest running

from the Gulf of Cambay on the west to the mouths of the Mahānadī on the east. The country lying between this barrier and the Himālaya, although not altogether devoid of hills, is essentially a plain watered by two river systems, those of the Indus and the Ganges. The parting or watershed of the two systems is marked by the Āravalli (Pāriyātra) hills of Rājputāna. The great plain, formed of silt deposited from the rivers, has been the scene of nearly all the Indian historical events interesting to the outer world. It lies outside the tropics. The peninsular region to the south of the forest barrier lies wholly within the tropics, and until recent times has been so secluded from the rest of the world that the history of its many principalities and powers, excepting some on the coast, has been little known or regarded.

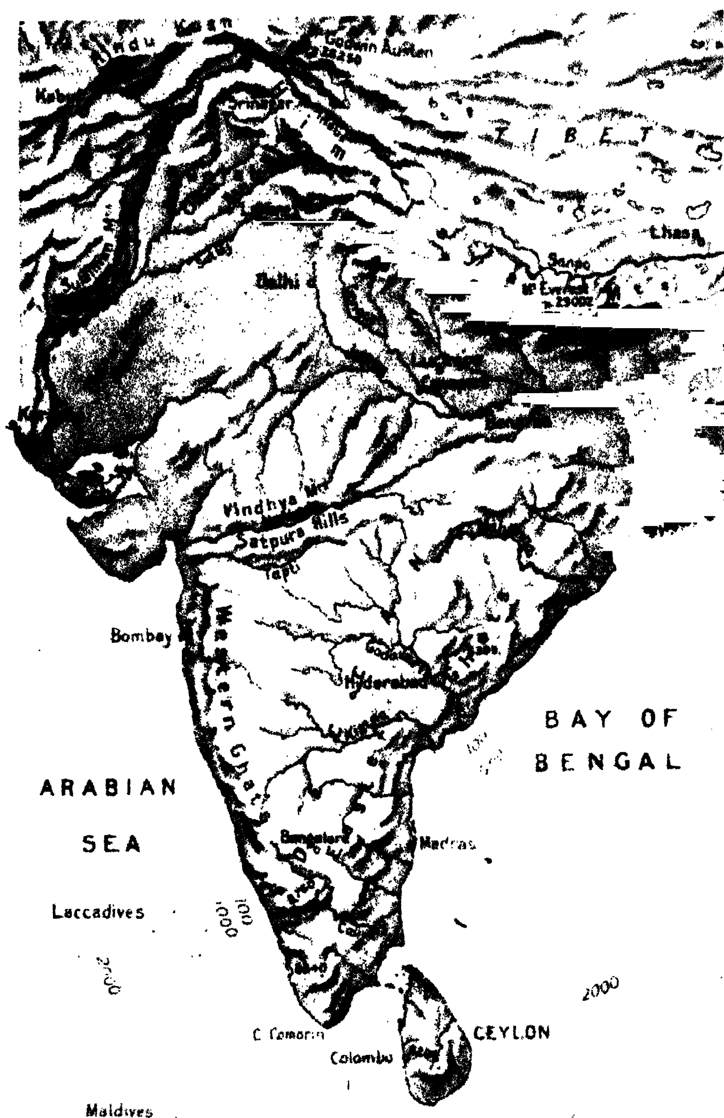
The forest barrier, or Mahākāntāra, and the Narbadā river. The forest barrier itself, Mahākāntāra of old books, used to be a no-man's-land, lying outside the limits of the regularly constituted states, and usually left in the hands of its wild inhabitants. It is now shared by several provincial governments, and is gradually losing its former distinct character. In very early times this forest belt was practically impenetrable at most points, and the slight intercourse between north and south had to be conducted usually either by sea or by a land route along the eastern coast. The forest barrier being broad and ill-defined, a more definite boundary is needed for literary use. Ancient authority, accordingly, warrants the assumption of the Narbadā river as the conventional line dividing the north from the south, and this convention is sufficiently supported by the facts of history to be justified in practice.

Āryāvarta, or Hindustan, and the Deccan. The northern plains were called by Hindu authors Āryāvarta, 'the Aryan territory', and by the Mohammedans Hindustan, 'the Hindu territory'. Modern usage sometimes extends the term Hindustan to the whole of India. The ancients generally designated the whole southern peninsula area by the Sanskrit

word *dakshiṇa*, meaning 'south', which is familiar in its corrupt English form as 'the Deccan'. But the term 'Deccan' is now commonly restricted to the plateau or highlands to the north of the Kistna (Krishnā) and Tungabhadra rivers, which are mostly included in the Nizām's Dominions and the Bombay Presidency. The Far South, or Tamil Land (*Tamilakam*), which comprises the bulk of the Madras Presidency with the addition of the Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore States, is treated as distinct from the Deccan. But historically Mysore has been more closely connected with the Deccan states than with those of Tamil Land.

The historian's three divisions of India. As a matter of fact the three divisions of Hindustan or Āryāvarta, to the north of the Narbadā; the Deccan, between the Tāptī and the Tungabhadra; and the Far South or Tamil Land, from the Tungabhadra to Cape Comorin, usually have had separate histories. The historian of India, therefore, finds it convenient to restrict his main narrative of events before the British period to Hindustan, which was most in touch with the outer world, and to devote distinct chapters to the account of events in the Deccan and the Far South. Most of the events of at all general interest occurred in one or other of the three regions named above. The affairs of Mahākāntāra, or the central belt of jungle, of the Himālayan slopes and valleys, including Nepāl and Kashmīr, as well as those of the basin of the Brahmaputra, including Assam, ordinarily fall outside of the main current of Indian history. The administrative arrangements of modern India take little account of physical features and natural geographical boundaries.

Basins of the Indus and Ganges. Within the area of Āryāvarta or Hindustan we must distinguish the basin of the Indus and its tributaries, comprising the Panjāb, Sind, Katch and Rājputāna to the west of the Āravalli hills, from the basin of the Ganges and its affluents. The history of the countries along the lower course of the Ganges, the modern province of



THE INDIAN PENINSULA—PHYSICAL FEATURES
(300 miles to 1 inch. Heights in feet, depths in fathoms)

Bengal, is distinct in large measure from that of the countries along the upper course of the same river, now mostly included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. South Bihār and Tirhūt, the ancient Magadha and Mithilā respectively, now form part of the modern province of Bihār—Tirhūt itself, formerly a District of Bengal, having been divided into the Muzaffarpur and Darbhangā Districts north of the Ganges. The outlying peninsula of Surāshtra, or Kāthiāwār, being most easily accessible through Mālwā, was often included in the northern empires of the Gangetic basin.

The 'Lost River'. The extensive desert which now occupies so large an area in Rājputāna and Sind was much smaller in ancient times, when the 'Lost River', the Hakrā or Wahindah flowed through the Bahāwalpur State, and with its tributaries fertilized wide regions now desolate. During the Mohammedan period that river was the recognized boundary between Sind and Hind, or India Proper. It disappeared finally in the eighteenth century, but its ancient channels and the ruins of forgotten cities on their banks may still be seen. Failure to appreciate the enormous scale of the changes in the courses of the rivers of Northern India has caused much misunderstanding of history. In olden days the command of the rivers was as important as the command of the sea is now.

The Western and Eastern Ghāts ; the plain of Tinnevelly. The long chain of hills or mountains of moderate height, known as the Sahyādri or Western Ghāts, which extends, with only one short break at Pālghāt, from the Narbadā to Cape Comorin, plays an important part in Indian history. It shuts off from the interior highlands the low-lying fertile strip of land between the hills and the sea, called the Konkan, which has been the seat of trade with Europe since remote ages.[1] The

[1] 'The Konkan is now held to include all the land which lies between the Western Ghāts and the Indian Ocean, from the latitude of Damān on the north [20° 25′] to that of Terekhol, on the Goa frontier [about 15° 43′], on the south. This tract is about 320 miles in length.' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, vol. I, part ii, p. 9.)

passes, which do not change like rivers, have necessarily determined the lines of intercourse between the coast and the kingdoms of the interior. The facilities for erecting forts on the flat-topped hills of the Ghāts and Deccan have largely influenced the course of history, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Marāthā power was based on the possession of the hill-fortresses. The ill-defined range of the Eastern Ghāts has less historical significance. The arid plain of Tinnevelly and Madura in the south-east of the peninsula is a well-marked natural feature which became the seat of a separate kingdom, that of the Pāndyas, at a very early date.

The temptations of India. The wealth extracted by an industrious population from the teeming soil of the hot northern plains has always been a temptation to the hardy races of the less favoured parts of Asia, and has supplied the motive for innumerable invasions of armies and immigrations of more peaceful settlers. The new-comers, entering from the north, have thence pushed into the less attractive regions of the Deccan table-land, whenever they were strong enough to do so, but none of the invaders from the north were able to establish effective dominion over the extreme south. The riches of Tamil Land—especially pearls, pepper, and spices—have always been sought by foreigners who came by sea, not overland.

CHAPTER II

The peoples of India: Stone and Copper Ages; the Indus civilization; Indo-Aryans and aborigines; Dravidians; foreign elements

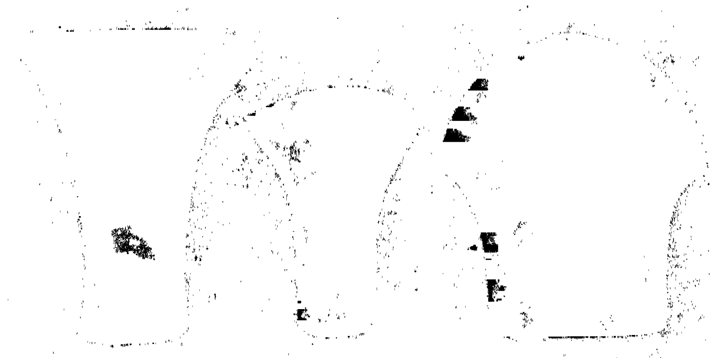
The Stone Age. Poets dream of a golden age when the world was young and men lived in innocent peace and happy plenty. Sober science tells a different tale and teaches that

everywhere the earliest men were rude savages, dwelling in caves or huts, ignorant even of the use of fire and the commonest arts of life. Rudely chipped flints or other hard stones were their only tools and are their sole memorial. Later, but still very ancient, men made better stone implements, often exquisitely finished, and learned how to make pottery, at first by hand only, afterwards with the aid of the wheel. India, like other lands, yields many relics of such early men, who had not learned the use of metals, and are therefore said to have lived in the Stone Age. Important discoveries of palaeolithic remains have recently been made in the region of the Narbadā river. At Maheswar in the Indore State, an entire city a mile long has been excavated, dating from 3000 B.C., and complete with artefacts (implements made by man), beads and brick structures.



POTTERY FIGURINES

The Copper Age. In Northern India one of the first metals



COPPER IMPLEMENTS

to become known was copper. Hundreds of curious implements made of pure copper have been found in the Central Provinces, in old beds of the Ganges near Cawnpore, and in other places from Eastern Bengal to Sind and the Kurram valley. They are supposed to date from 2000 B.C., more or less. The time when iron being unknown, tempered or hardened pure copper, not bronze, was used to make tools is called the Copper Age.[1] It is possible that some of the *Rigveda* hymns may date from that age, but commentators differ.

The Iron Age. In process of time the use of iron became familiar, having been introduced, perhaps, from Babylonia. Since then men have lived and still live in the Iron Age. The Atharvaveda, which, although very ancient, is later in date than the *Rigveda*, seems to recognize the use of iron, which certainly was known to the people of Northern India before 500 B.C., and probably long before that date.

The Indus civilization. The most important discovery in connexion with the early inhabitants of India was that of an advanced chalcolithic culture stretching along the course of the river Indus, from Harappa in the Montgomery District of the Panjāb to its mouth. In 1922, Mr R. D. Banerji of the Indian Archaeological Department found at Mohenjo-daro, near Larkhana in Sind, a great prehistoric city which has now been excavated. It is well laid out, with wide streets running at right angles. The houses are built of brick, often several storeys high, with flat roofs, drains and bathrooms. The chief feature is a large public bath, with promenades and chambers for the bathers.

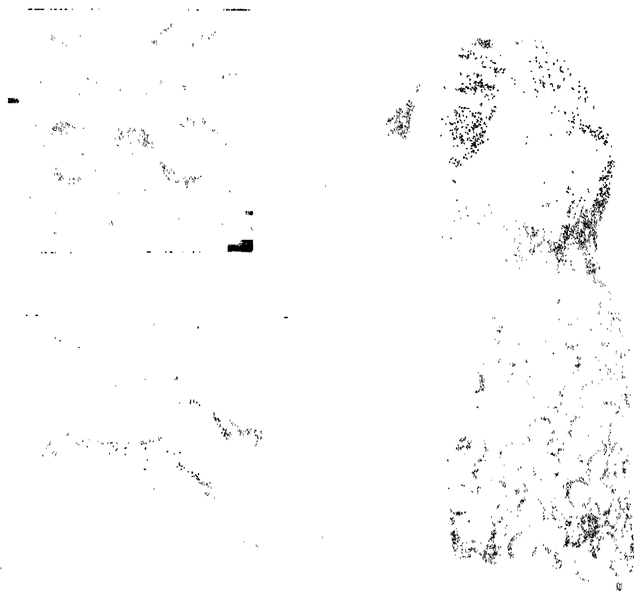
The Indus river folk were highly artistic, and left behind a large number of steatite seals or amulets, beautifully engraved with figures of crocodiles, tigers, antelopes, Brahminy bulls, and various religious emblems. From these seals we may infer that the climate of Sind was then moist

[1] The use of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was rare in India. which had no Bronze Age. The art of tempering copper has been lost.



MOHENJO-DARO FROM THE AIR

and fertile. Wheat and cotton were in use. The horse, if we may judge from its absence, was unknown, and ploughing must have been done by oxen, as in India today. A number of figures have been found, one of a man who seems to be a priest, together with children's toys of burnt clay, and fine glazed pottery. These people were skilled metal workers. They made copper images, axe-heads, swords and spears. They were fond of jewellery, especially of bangles and necklaces made of gold and silver and various precious stones.



PICTOGRAPHIC SEALS AND SCULPTURE EXCAVATED AT MOHENJO-DARO

The objects found throw a good deal of light on their religion. On one of the seals is a horned, three-headed god who has been identified with Siva. They also worshipped the *lingam*, the sacred pipal tree, and the Mother Goddess. The dead were usually cremated, and the ashes buried in urns.

Mohenjo-daro flourished about 2500 B.C., and was apparently sacked by an invading tribe from the hills, as groups of skeletons of men, women and children are found at various places, who seem to have met with a violent death. But the civilization lingered on for some time at Chanhu-daro and other localities. We shall not know for certain who the Indus river folk were until we find a clue to the writing on the seals, but apparently they were invaders from Irāq, probably akin to the ancient Sumerians, who settled down and intermarried with the earlier inhabitants. They may be of the same stock as the Dravidians now inhabiting Southern India. Others have identified them with the Dasyus who were opponents of the Indo-Aryans, as the Vedas inform us.

Variety of races in India. How far the existing peoples of India are descended from the ancient men who used stone and copper tools nobody can tell. The most casual observer cannot fail to perceive that the present population of nearly four hundred millions is made up of the descendants of many diverse races, some of which have been settled in the country since the most remote times, while others are known to have entered it at various periods. In the course of ages those diverse races have ' now become so intermixed and confounded that it is impossible to say where one variety of man ends and another begins '.

Two main types. But, notwithstanding infinite crossing, two main types are clearly discernible. The short, dark, snub-nosed, and often ugly type is represented by the Kols, Bhīls, and countless other jungle tribes, as well as by an immense mass of low-caste folk in Northern India. The Southern races also, with certain exceptions, are more akin to this type than to the second, which is tall, fair, long-nosed, and often handsome, as represented by the Kashmīrīs and many high-caste people in the north and some in the south.

Aryans and ' aborigines '. The people of the short, dark type undoubtedly are the descendants of the older races who

occupied the country before the tall, fair people came in. They are, therefore, often called 'aborigines' to indicate that they represent the earliest or original inhabitants, so far as can be ascertained. Attempts, based chiefly upon philology, or the science of language, are sometimes made to distinguish races—Kolarian, Dravidian, and so forth—among these 'aborigines', but with little success. The tall, fair people certainly came in from the north-west, and the earliest invaders of whom we know anything, the people of the *Rigveda* hymns, called themselves Ārya, or 'kinsmen' Their blood may be assumed to flow in the veins of certain Brahmins and other classes at the present day, but it is mixed with strains derived from later invaders of similar physical type. The question of the original seat of the Aryan stock, one branch of which entered India from about 1500 B.C. or earlier, has given rise to many theories, which agree only in not being proved. It is, however, safe to say that the Aryan settlers in India were akin to the Persians or Iranians, and probably to many other races of Asia and Europe.

Indo-Aryans. These Aryan settlers in India are conveniently called Indo-Aryans to distinguish them from the continental Aryans on the other side of the passes. The Pārsī or Persian colonies, whose ancestors, fleeing from Mohammedan persecution, reached Western India in the eighth century, may be regarded as Aryans of pure blood. The earliest settlements of the Vedic Indo-Aryans apparently were made in the Panjāb, the 'land of the five rivers', or 'of the seven rivers', according to an ancient reckoning. Thence the strangers spread slowly over Northern India, advancing chiefly along the Ganges and Jumna, but making use also of the Indus route. One section seems to have moved eastwards along the base of the mountains into Mithilā or Tirhūt.

The distinctive Brahminical system was evolved, not in the Panjāb, but in the upper Ganges valley in the Delhi region, between the Sutlaj and Jumna. Manu honours the small

tract between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī rivers by the title of Brahmāvarta, 'the land of the gods', giving the name of Brahmarshidesa, or 'the land of divine sages', to the larger region comprising Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetra (Thānēsar), with the addition of Matsya (Eastern Rājputāna), Panchāla (between the Ganges and Jumna), and Surasena (Mathurā). When the treatise ascribed to Manu assumed its present shape, perhaps about 200 or earlier, the whole space between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas from sea to sea was acknowledged to be Āryāvarta, 'the Aryan territory'. The Indo-Aryan advance thus indicated must have been spread over many centuries. As they advanced the Aryans subdued, more or less completely, the 'aborigines', whom they called Dasyus or Dāsas (slaves).

Southern expansion of the Indo-Aryans checked. The central forest barrier, or Mahākāntāra (*ante*, p. 4), long checked the Aryan advance towards the south, and, indeed, no large body of Aryan settlers can be proved to have passed it. But, in course of time, the ideas and customs of the Aryans spread all over India, even into lands where the people have little or no Aryan blood in their veins. Tradition credits the *ṛishi* Agastya with the introduction of Aryan Hindu institutions into the South.

Aryan languages. The Indo-Aryans spoke a language which in a later literary form became known as Sanskrit, and belonged to the same family as Persian, Latin, Greek, English, and many other Asiatic and European languages. From the early Indo-Aryan speech, Marāthī, Hindī, Bengalī, and other languages of Northern India have been evolved during the course of ages. But multitudes of people who are not Aryan by descent now speak Aryan languages. Community of language is no proof of community of blood.

Immigration from the north-east. Strangers distinct from the Aryans, and belonging to the Mongoloid type of mankind, more or less akin to the Chinese, came down from the

north-eastern hills, and are believed to form a considerable element in the population of Eastern Bengal and Assam. *This movement from the north-east was of minor importance* compared with the Aryan immigration from the north-west.

Dravidians. The people of the south are described as Dravidians because Dravida was the old name of the Tamil country. Some writers extend the meaning of the term Dravidian so as to comprise most of the so-called aboriginal races, even in the north, but such an extension of a purely geographical name is not to be commended. The Southerners undoubtedly include several distinct races, but almost all of the short, dark type. The Tamils are the most important. Learned men have many theories about the origin of these races, which agree only in their uncertainty. No positive assertion on the subject is justified.

Dravidian languages and civilization. The principal languages spoken in the south, namely Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam, and Tulu, which are closely related one to the other, form a group or family totally distinct from the Aryan, and known to philologists as the Dravidian family. It is equally distinct from the Kolarian or Munda family spoken by many of the so-called aboriginal tribes. Tamil, a rich and copious tongue, the most cultivated of the Dravidian group, possesses a fine early literature, perfectly independent of the Sanskrit. Although our knowledge of the ancient life of the Dravidian nations is scanty, enough is known to justify the assertion that they were far from being rude barbarians when Aryan teachers first reached them, several centuries before the Christian era.

The foreign elements of the Indian population. As already observed, the origin of the southern races is not known, and foreign immigration from the north into the south cannot be proved to have taken place on a large scale. The known foreign elements in the Indian population came in mainly from the north-west, and settled, for the most part, to the

north of the Vindhyas. It will be useful to state briefly what those elements are. The first swarm of immigrants about which anything can be ascertained is that of the Indo-Aryans (*ante*, p. 14), whose movement undoubtedly lasted for centuries.

The Sakas. In the second century B.C. we begin to hear of the Sakas, hordes of nomad tribes from Central Asia, who descended on the Indian plains, formed settlements in the Panjāb, with extensions probably as far as Mathurā, and occupied Kāthiāwār or Surāshtra, of which they became the masters. The ancient Indians having been accustomed to use the term Saka in a vague way to denote all foreigners from the other side of the passes, without nice distinctions of race and tribe, it is possible that many of the people called Sakas may have been akin to the Aryans of the olden time.

The Yuehchi or Kushāns (Kusana). The third recorded inrush of strangers from Central Asia in large numbers began in the first century after Christ. At that time the leading horde was known to the Chinese historians, the principal source of information on the subject, as the Yuehchi, a people probably akin to the Turks, and perhaps to the Aryans. The Kushāns (Kusana), the principal clan or sept among the Yuehchi, founded a powerful empire in Northern India, the history of which will be noticed in Chapter VI.

The White Huns or Ephthalites. Indistinct indications suggest that India may have been invaded by Persians or Iranians in the third century of the Christian era, but the next clearly proved irruption took place in the fifth and sixth centuries, when multitudes of fierce folk from the Asiatic steppes swooped down on Persia and India. The Indians called them all by the name of Hūnas, a term used vaguely like the term Sakas, and covering, no doubt, many different hordes or tribes. European writers distinguish the Indian Hūnas as the White Huns, or Ephthalites, from the other Huns who invaded Europe. As in the case of the Sakas, we

cannot say positively whether or not the White Huns were akin to the fair, tall Aryans and Turks, or to the small yellow-faced Mongols. But it is now known that many existing Rājpūt clans and other castes—Gūjars, Jats, Kāthis, etc.—are descendants of either the Hūnas or the Gurjaras or of other similar hordes which followed them. The appearance of the Rājpūts, Jats, and Gūjars indicates that their foreign ancestors must have belonged to one of the fair, tall types of mankind, and not to the yellow-faced, narrow-eyed, Mongoloid type.

Early spread of Islam. A new force which came into existence in the first half of the seventh century ultimately produced enormous effects on the population of India. Mohammed, an Arab of the desert, born about 570, conceived in middle life the idea of proclaiming a reformed religion which should abolish the rude heathen practices of the Arabs, and be, in his belief, an improvement on the Jewish and Christian religions as known to him. For years he had little success, but he began to acquire political power from the time that he fled from Mecca to Medina in order to escape from the opposition of his hostile kinsmen. The Mohammedan era of the Hijra (often corruptly spelt Hegira), or Flight, dates from 622.[1] During the remaining ten years of his life, his prophetic teaching, summed up in the phrase, 'There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his messenger', made such progress, helped largely by the sword, that Mohammed, when he died in 632, was practically master of Arabia. His position as such brought his successors into conflict with the empires of Persia and Constantinople, resulting in a series of wars, in which the Arabs won marvellous success. Within the short space of eighty years after the prophet's death, the adherents of his religion—Islam—reigned supreme over Arabia, Persia, Syria, Western Turkistan, Sind, Egypt, and Southern Spain.

[1] Hijra dates are denoted by the letters A.H., meaning *Anno Hijrae*, '*in the year of the Hijra*'.

We may say with truth that the rapid progress of the Arab arms was mainly due to the enthusiasm aroused by the prophet's teaching, aided by the weakness of the kingdoms attacked ; but no man has ever yet succeeded in explaining how the teaching of a prophet like Mohammed should arouse so quickly the zeal of his followers and make them invincible. The spread of a new religion is one of the mysteries of human nature, which do not yield their secret to attempts at summary explanation.

Moslem element in Indian population. Sind, then regarded as distinct from India proper, was conquered by Mohammed bin Kāsim in 712, and the occupation of Kābul followed in 870. But the conquest of those outlying territories did not much concern India. The first Indian province permanently occupied by Moslems was the Panjāb, annexed by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī about 1021. From the closing years of the twelfth century, when the conquest of Hindustan was systematically undertaken, a stream of Moslem strangers began to flow into the plains of India, and continued to flow, with some interruptions, until the eighteenth century, profoundly changing the character of the population over immense areas. The Moslem immigrants from the north-west belonged mostly to tall, fair races, resembling the Aryans rather than the earliest inhabitants of India.

Lasting effect of the early Aryan immigration. Thus it appears that for thousands of years millions of foreigners, beginning with the Vedic Aryans, and mostly fair-skinned people, have kept pouring into India and mingling their blood with that of the earlier dark inhabitants. The strangest fact in the story is that the most profound effect was wrought by the earliest known swarm of immigrants, the Vedic Aryans, who have stamped an indelible mark on the institutions of India, and given the country as a whole its distinctive character. Sakas, Yuehchi, Hūnas, and many other alien tribes who came in later, are now mere names. They have

left scarcely a trace of their peculiar institutions or customs, and have been swallowed up in the gulf of Hinduism. The Moslems alone, thanks to their zeal for their religion, have succeeded in keeping distinct and separate. Modern Hinduism, however much it may differ from the religion and social system of the ancient *ṛishis*, undoubtedly has its roots in the institutions of the Vedic Aryans, and not in those of subsequent immigrants. In the next chapter some of the effects of the Aryan occupation will be considered.

CHAPTER III

Early Hindu civilization: the Vedas; *smṛiti*; the *Purāṇas*; the epics; Buddhism and Jainism; caste

The four Vedas. The Hindu religion, like all religions, has been considerably modified in the course of time. The ancient Aryans, on settling in Hindustan, doubtless absorbed many of the customs of their predecessors. During the Buddhist period other changes took place, and many were doubtless introduced by the Sakas and other invaders from the north-west. Yet, in spite of all this, the Vedas remain to nearly all Hindus what the Bible is to Christians and the Koran to Mohammedans. Some account therefore of Vedic literature is an indispensable introduction to the study of Indian history.

The word Veda means 'knowledge', especially the philosophical and religious knowledge which Hindus believe to have been revealed to the most ancient Aryan sages (*ṛishis*). The books imparting such knowledge are known as 'the four Vedas'.

Contents of the four Vedas. Each Veda comprises three parts, all regarded by most Hindus as *śruti*, or revelation—namely (1) a collection (*saṁhitā*) or collections of hymns,

prayers, invocations, or spells (*mantras*); (2) prose treatises, designed to explain the meaning of the ritual of sacrifice and to serve as textbooks for the use of Brahmins (*Brāhmaṇas*); and (3) philosophical discourses (*Upanishads*), chiefly devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of the identity of the world-soul with the individual soul (*ātman*, *brahma*), and the means of escape from the evils of existence by absorption into the world-soul. Technically the *Upanishads* form part of the *Brāhmaṇas*, which also include supplementary treatises called *Āraṇyakas*, specially designed for the study of advanced students living in the solitudes of forests (*araṇyas*). But the matter of the *Upanishads* differs so much from that of the other parts of the *Brāhmaṇas*, that they may be regarded with propriety as forming a distinct section of the Vedas. Some *Upanishads* are presented as chapters of *Āraṇyakas*, while others stand alone. The *Upanishads* are the foundation of the later and more systematic Vedānta philosophy. Their metaphysical doctrine is summed up in the formula *tat tvam asi*, 'that thou art'. They also give the earliest indication of the doctrine of *karma*, so prominent afterwards in Buddhism and defined by Manu in the words: 'action of every kind, whether of mind, or speech, or body, produces results good or evil, and causes the various conditions of men, highest, lowest, or intermediate'.

The *Rigveda* and Sāmaveda *samhitās*. The oldest *saṁhitā*, that of the *Rigveda* (*rich*=stanza of praise), comprises 1,017 hymns in praise of the various powers of nature—the sky, fire, winds, and so forth—worshipped as gods. Often, however, the poets rise to a higher level, and clearly perceive 'the only God above the gods'. Some of these hymns must be as old as 2000 B.C., and may be even older. The Sāmaveda *saṁhitā*, which is merely a book of chants (*sāmans*), nearly all taken from the *Rigveda*, is of comparatively slight importance. The chants relate to the *sōma* sacrifices. The *sōma* was a plant, the identity of which is still a matter of dispute.

The Yajurveda *saṁhitā*. The Yajurveda *saṁhitā*, existing in two principal forms, the Black and White, is mainly composed of original matter, half in prose, although it includes some hymns, amounting to about one-fourth of the whole, extracted from the *Rigveda*. It may be described as a book of sacrificial prayers, and its compilation is the work of a period when unduly high value was attached to sacrificial ritual, and the truly religious spirit of the *Rigveda* had been obscured by formalism. The comparatively late date of this Veda is indicated by the fact that the Hindu holy land, which for the poets of the *Rigveda* was the Panjāb, the basin of the Indus and its tributaries, is shifted in the Yajurveda to Brahmāvarta or Kurukshetra, in the Gangetic basin, between the Sutlaj and the Jumna.

The Atharvaveda *saṁhitā*. The Atharvaveda *saṁhitā*, of which about the sixth part is in prose, consists mainly of a collection of spells, charms, and incantations for use in sorcery and witchcraft. Although many of these formulas evidently have come down from extremely remote times, the collection as a whole was not recognized as a Veda until long after the sanctity of the other three Vedas had been established, and its authority is still denied by some of the leading Brahmins of the south. Nevertheless, as early as 150 B.C., the grammarian Patanjali considered it to be 'the head of the Vedas', and the compilation of the work must be referred to a time several centuries before that date, and not later than 600 B.C.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads*, and *sūtras*. Although it is impossible to date the *Brāhmaṇa* treatises with any approach to accuracy, their composition is supposed to have taken place between 500 and 300 B.C. The oldest of the numerous *Upanishads*, which are of widely different ages, may go back as far as 700 or 600 B.C. The Vedic *sūtras* (about 500-200 B.C.) are compressed treatises dealing chiefly with ritual and customary law in aphorisms, or terse sayings, reduced to the utmost

possible limits of brevity. They are classed as *śrauta*, dealing with ritual; *grihya*, dealing with domestic ceremonies; and *dharma*, dealing with custom, including law.

The *Vedāngas*. All the works composed in this strange style are considered to be *Vedāngas*, or members of the Veda, and as such are divided into six groups—namely (1) phonetics or pronunciation (*śikshā*); (2) metre (*chhandas*); (3) grammar (*vyākaraṇa*); (4) etymology (*nirukta*); (5) religious practice (*kalpa*); and (6) astronomy or astrology (*jyotisha*). In ancient times the Vedic literature being taught solely by word of mouth, trained linguistic, grammatical, and metrical skill was needed to secure, as it has actually secured, the correct preservation and transmission of the sacred texts. Astronomical and astrological knowledge was equally necessary to determine the dates of eclipses, the lucky days for ceremonies, and so forth. Thus nearly all ancient Hindu science sprang from religious needs and served religious and ritual purposes.

Uncertain date of the *Rigveda*. The *Rigveda*, meaning the collections of hymns (*saṁhitās*), is of deep interest to scholars, because it is certainly by far the oldest book in an Aryan language. What its date may be no man can say. Some of the individual hymns may be of immense antiquity, while others may be centuries later. At some particular time they were arranged in a book, but when that was done we cannot tell. Probably it is safe to say that the composition of the hymns ranges between 2000 and 1000 B.C., and that the arrangement of them in a book may be assigned to somewhere about the later date. This utter uncertainty in the chronology makes it difficult to realize the state of society in the age of the *Rigveda*, or to compare it with that in other lands.

Early but not primitive. The society pictured, although of an early type, is not exactly primitive. The hymns themselves are artificial, literary compositions, arranged by scholars. The language, metres, and style all show a considerable amount of learning. Probably the scholars did not

know how to read or write, but that did not prevent them from being learned after their fashion. They had splendid memories.

Social organization. The people were divided into numerous tribes, of which many are named, and each tribe consisted of many families or households, each governed by its head. The Rājā, with the help of the elders, governed the tribe, much as the father managed his family. The several tribes were often at war, one with another, or with the early aboriginal dwellers in India. Their wealth consisted chiefly in cattle, and their principal occupation in peace was tending the kine. But they also used the plough, and were familiar with the crafts of the carpenter, smith, jeweller, and other artisans. They rode in chariots, and fought chiefly with bows and arrows, sometimes also with spears and battle-axes. In short, their mode of life seems to have been in many respects not unlike that of certain tribes on the Afghan frontier in recent times, before firearms came into use.

Diet, etc. The Aryans normally used a vegetarian diet, but at sacrifices and on special occasions flesh was consumed.[1] In this they differed from modern high-caste Hindus. The doctrine of the sacredness of all life (*ahiṁsā*) came in with Buddhism. The juice of a plant called *sōma* was drunk at sacrifices. Gambling appears to have been a common vice among princes and rich men.

Religion. They worshipped the powers of nature, conceived as living persons. The hymns accordingly are nearly all addressed to such deities. Indra, the lord of thunder, lightning, and rain, received most homage. *Agni* or Fire comes next in favour. The Wind, Sun, Dawn, and many other powers or aspects of nature are appealed to.

Some of the hymns, presumably included among those comparatively late in date, strike a very lofty note, as already

[1] In Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmcharita*, a 'fatted calf' is killed on the occasion of Vasishta's visit to the hermitage of Vālmīki.

observed, and indicate the beginnings of the philosophy worked out in the *Upanishads* and subsequent treatises. Part of the Creation Hymn, the most impressive and noble of the lyrics (x. 129), may be quoted in Professor Macdonell's version :

Non-being then existed not, nor being :
There was no air, nor heaven which is beyond it.
What motion was there ? Where ? By whom directed ?
Was water there--and fathomless abysses ?

Death then existed not, nor life immortal ;
Of neither night nor day was any semblance.
The one breathed calm and windless by self-impulse :
There was not any other thing beyond it.

Darkness at first was covered up by darkness ;
This universe was indistinct and fluid.
The empty space that by the void was hidden,
That One was by the heat engendered.

. . . . .

This world-creation, whence it has arisen,
Or whether it has been produced or has not,
He who surveys it in the highest heaven,
He only knows—or e'en He does not know it.

Pānini. The oldest extant Sanskrit grammar, the wonderful work composed in *sūtra* style by Pānini, a native of the Panjāb, was constructed in the first instance, like its numerous lost predecessors, to ensure accurate teaching of the sacred books by highly trained Brahmins. The passion of the ancient writers for brevity is expressed by the saying that the composer of a grammatical *sūtra* would have delighted as much in the saving of a short vowel as in the birth of a son. Pānini's work is so compressed, that although it deals with the whole Sanskrit language, it could be printed in thirty-five small octavo pages. The date of this prince of grammarians is

uncertain, some authorities placing him in the fourth century B.C., and others, apparently with better reason, two or three centuries earlier. Yāska, who wrote an etymological commentary on the Vedas, long preceded Pānini.

***Smriti*; Manu, etc.** The whole of the *sūtra* literature is regarded as *smṛiti*, or venerable traditional matter, not as *śruti*, or direct revelation, like the Vedas. The six systems of philosophy (*darśana*) were developed from the *Upanishads* in course of time, and the law-books (*dharmaśāstra*) based on the *sūtras* were composed at various dates by the Brahmin teachers of different schools, as manuals of *dharma*, or the Hindu rules of life. The most famous *dharmaśāstra* is the *Mānava*, commonly called the Laws, or Institutes, of Manu, a composition containing much ancient matter, but supposed by some scholars to date in its present form from about 200. It may be much earlier. This treatise deals with the rights and duties of Hindus in all ranks and conditions of life, and is the foundation of the systems of modified Hindu law now administered by the courts of India.

The eighteen *Purānas*. The eighteen *Purānas*, which record the story of the gods, interwoven with legends and traditions on many subjects human and divine, are closely connected with the Laws of Manu as well as with the epics. They have been described as being 'the Veda of popular Hinduism', and sometimes are even called 'the fifth Veda'. The *Bhāgavata* and *Vishnu Purānas* exercise the most influence on the religion of the present day. The *Vāyu Purāna*, believed to be one of the oldest of the eighteen, seems to date in its present shape from the fourth century after Christ, but much of its contents may be far older. It is intimately related to the *Harivaṁśa*, which is a supplement to the Mahābhārata. Historical traditions of high value to the historian of Northern India are preserved in several of the earlier *Purānas*. This class of works has little concern with the

south, which has *Purānas* of its own that are not familiar to most scholars.

The Epics. The two great Sanskrit epics (*itihāsas*), the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, are invaluable as pictures of life in ancient India before the time when authentic history begins. The Rāmāyana, which consists of about twenty-four thousand couplets (*ślokas*), divided into seven books, is essentially the work of a single author, Vālmīki, to which subsequent additions of moderate bulk have been made. The Mahābhārata, more than four times as bulky, and divided into eighteen books, although traditionally ascribed to a mythical author named Vyāsa, really is a collection of many separate poems by various nameless poets of different ages, loosely strung together and appended to an original narrative comprising only about twenty-four thousand couplets. The bulk of the Rāmāyana is believed to have been composed before 500 B.C., but some of the additions seem to be several centuries later. The Mahābhārata, which in its present form is rather 'an encyclopaedia of moral teaching' than an epic properly so called, includes compositions supposed to range in date between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400.

Story of the Rāmāyana. The main theme of Vālmīki's poem is the story of Prince Rāma, son of Dasaratha, king of Ajodhya, who was driven into exile along with Sītā, his faithful wife, in consequence of a palace intrigue. In the course of his wanderings, accompanied by his brother, Lakshmana, in the wild regions of the south, Rāma suffered the loss of his consort, who was carried off by the giant Rāvana. But the hero, after many adventures, rescued his wife, and defeated and slew the giant. In the end, Rāma and Sītā, having been delivered from all their troubles, returned to Ajodhya, where Rāma and his loyal brother Bharata reigned gloriously over a happy and contented people.

Story of the Mahābhārata. The subject of the truly epic portion of the Mahābhārata is the Great War between the

Kauravas, the hundred sons of Dhritarāshtra, led by Duryodhana, and the Pāndavas, the five sons of Pāndu, brother of Dhritarāshtra, led by Yudhishthira. The poet relates all the circumstances leading up to the war, and then narrates the tale of the fierce conflict which raged for eighteen days on the plain of Kurukshetra, near Thānēsar to the north of Delhi. All the nations and tribes of India, from the Himālayas to the farthest south, are represented as taking part in this combat of giants. The Pāndava host comprised the armies of the states situated in the countries equivalent to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Western Bihār, and Eastern Rājputāna, with contingents from Gujarāt in the west and from the Dravidian kingdoms of the extreme south. The Kaurava cause was upheld by the forces of Eastern Bihār, Bengal, the Himālayas, and the Panjāb. The battles ended in the utter destruction of nearly all the combatants on both sides, excepting Dhritarāshtra and the Pāndavas. But a reconciliation was effected between the few survivors, and Yudhishthira Pāndava was recognized as king of Hastināpur on the Ganges. Ultimately the five sons of Pāndu, accompanied by Draupadī, the beloved wife of them all, and attended by a faithful dog, quitted their royal state, and, journeying to Mount Meru, were admitted into Indra's heaven.

Episodes of the Mahābhārata. One of the most justly celebrated narrative episodes is the charming story of Nala and Damayantī. The profound philosophical poem, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, familiarly known as the *Gītā*, or 'the Song', which forms the basis of much later pantheistic speculation, and the date of which is quite uncertain, is inserted in the form of a dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna Pāndava, supposed to have been spoken on the eve of battle.

Influence of the epics. These few words, of course, give a very inadequate notion of the contents of the two great *itihāsas*, which are the one department of Sanskrit literature familiar in substance to Hindus of all classes in every part of

India. These poems are to India all that Homer's reputed works were to Greece, and, like the Homeric poems, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana form inexhaustible treasure-houses filled with material for every kind of literature. The characters in both works supply the Hindu with examples of his highest ideal of man and woman. The hero Rāma, especially, has become the man-God of countless millions and the object of intense devotion.

The Hindī Rāmāyana. In Northern India the popular conception of the perfect man is derived, not directly from the Sanskrit of Vālmīki, but from the *Rāmcharit-mānas*, a Hindī poem on the subject of the Rāmāyana, composed in the sixteenth century by Tulsī Dās. This noble work is an independent composition of the highest merit, and the characters depicted in it ' live and move with all the dignity of a heroic age '.

Social conditions in the epics. The world of the *Rigveda* (*ante*, p. 21) is so strange and remote that it is difficult to form a distinct picture of it in the mind. The Indo-Aryans of that shadowy time had not yet become Hindus.

When we read the Rāmāyana or the narrative portions of the Mahābhārata we find ourselves on more familiar ground. Whatever may be the dates of composition of the poems, both deal with a thoroughly Hindu India, in which caste was fully developed, and the leading ideas of Hinduism were generally accepted. The heroes and heroines of the stories resemble modern Hindus sufficiently to seem real live men and women, fit to serve as models and exemplars to their descendants. All or nearly all the ordinary features of Hindu life are depicted, and the differences in manners and customs as compared with those of existing society are not very numerous. The incident which is the most shocking to modern Hindu notions of *dharma* is the marriage of Draupadī to five brothers at once. Such a relationship, although still lawful in Tibet and among sundry Himālayan tribes, would be regarded now in India proper as

horrible incest. The practice of *svayamvara*, or free choice of her husband by a maiden, is almost equally opposed to existing sentiment. But, as I have said, such cases are rare, and the general impression produced by the poems is that of a picture of old-fashioned Hindu life, such as may be still seen in a purely Hindu native state. The government described in the epics is that of any Rājā in such a state.

Religion. As regards religion and mythology, the Vedic gods and modes of worship had dropped out of sight for the most part. Vishnu in different forms had become the most prominent divinity, the heroes Rāma and Krishna both being treated as incarnations, or descents of him in human form. Brahmā and Siva also appear, as well as Kuvēra, Ganēsh, and many other minor deities still worshipped. The epic mythology seems thoroughly familiar to every Hindu, and the characteristic Hindu doctrines of *karma* (*ante*, p. 21) and incarnation (*avatāra*) are recognized in the poems as freely as they are today. The existing Hindu feeling concerning the sacredness of cows was then nearly as strong as it is now, and many minor differences in religion and custom had arisen.

Southern literature. The ancient Indian literature and philosophy known generally to the outer world are Aryan in origin and Sanskrit in language, as indicated in the foregoing sketch. But the historian of all India must not forget the fact, already noted, that the Tamil or Dravidian peoples of the Far South possessed an ancient civilization of uncertain origin independent of, and even hostile to, the Aryan system of the north. They produced an extensive literature, chiefly in the Tamil language, which includes epics, lyrics, and philosophical poems. These compositions, although enshrined in the hearts of the southerners, are unfamiliar to readers of other nations. The few European scholars sufficiently versed in the language to appreciate the charms of the Tamil poetry are loud in their praise of its merits, and the translations published justify

their verdict. The following extract from Gover's version of a Tamil song may serve as a specimen :

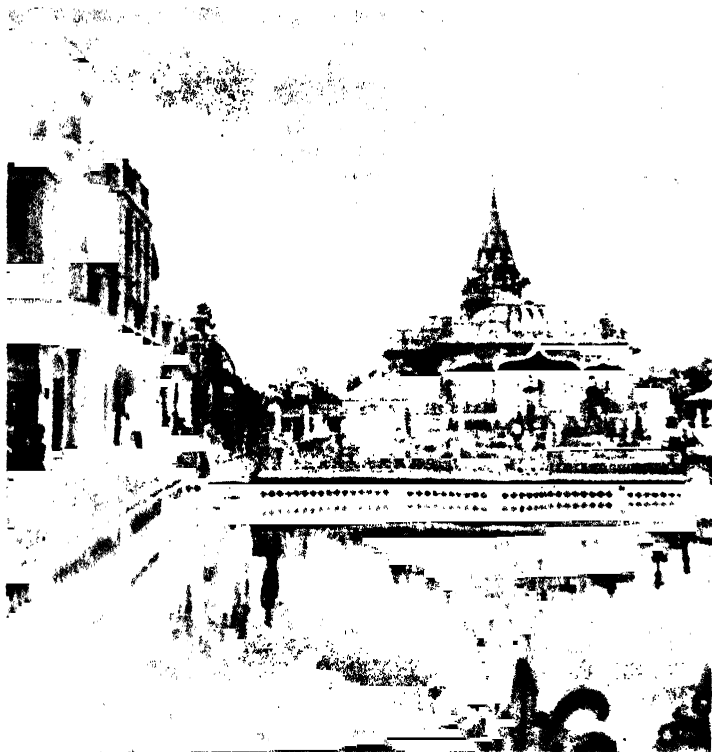
The wise man saith
That God, the omniscient Essence, fills all space
And time. He cannot die or end. In Him
All things exist. There is no God but He.
If thou wouldst worship in the noblest way,
Bring flowers in thy hand. Their names are these :
Contentment, Justice, Wisdom. Offer them
To that great Essence—then thou servest God.
No stone can image God—to bow to it
Is not to worship. Outward rites cannot
Avail to compass that reward of bliss
That true devotion gives to those who *know*.

Buddhism and Jainism. About 550 B.C., a time when speculation was active in several parts of the world, two systems of religious philosophy, which developed into separate religions, took shape in the north of India. These two systems, Buddhism and Jainism, both grew out of Brahminical Hinduism, as modified by the teaching of reformers of noble Kshatriya, not Brahmin birth, who failed to find in the doctrine of the Brahmin schools satisfactory solutions of the problems of life. Both of the new systems were first preached, at about the same time, in the same region, namely Magadha, or South Bihār, and the neighbouring districts. Both rely on the support of an organized society of monks or friars, reject the authority of the Vedas and the exclusive claims of the Brahmins, abhor bloody sacrifices, and teach with insistence the doctrine of extreme respect for every form of animal life (*ahiṁsā*). These obvious and real resemblances between Buddhism and Jainism are balanced by differences, equally real, if less obvious. The followers of the two creeds revere distinct saints, study distinct scriptures, and diverge widely in both doctrine and practice. The Jains do honour to twenty-four Jinas or Tīrthankaras ; the Buddhists to twenty-four Buddhas. The Jain scriptures are called *Angas* and by other

names ; the Buddhist books form the great collection known as the *Tripiṭaka*, or 'Three Baskets', dealing with doctrine, monastic discipline and philosophical comment and speculation. The Pāli books of Ceylon give the Buddhist Canon in its earliest known form. Later developments are dealt with in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese works. While both Jains and Buddhists profess to venerate the Three Jewels (*triratna*), they use the term in different senses. To the Buddhist the Three Jewels are the Buddha, the Law (*dharma*), and the Order of Monks (*saṅgha*). To the Jains they are Right Faith, Right Cognition, and Right Morals. The Jains are divided into two great sects, the Svetāmbara, or white-robed, and the Digambara, or nude (lit. 'sky-clad'). The nudity affected by the latter is extremely offensive to Buddhist feeling. The practice of suicide by starvation, which is highly esteemed by the Jains, is strictly forbidden to the Buddhists. These instances will suffice to show that Buddhism and Jainism, notwithstanding their points of resemblance, are radically different. The actual facts of the lives of the founders of the Jain and Buddhist systems are obscured, like those of the founders of all religions, by legends due to the imaginations of pious followers, but the following brief statement may be accepted as authentic.

Life of Mahāvīra. Vardhamāna, surnamed Mahāvīra, a young nobleman of Vaisāli, the modern Basār to the north of Patna, then the chief city of the famous Licchhavi tribe, joined an ascetic order which had been founded by an ancient teacher named Pārsvanāth. Becoming dissatisfied with the doctrine of his masters, he quitted their fraternity when about forty years of age, and, like many another Hindu reformer, set about devising a system of his own and organizing a new society of friars to give effect to his opinions. He spent the remaining thirty years of his life in preaching-tours, wandering with his disciples all over South Bihār (Magadha) and Tirhūt (Mithilā or Videha), until he died at Pāwā or Pāpā in the Patna

District. Widely-accepted tradition assigns his death to the year 527 B.C., but the exact year is open to doubt. Some authorities assign the event to 477 or 467 B.C. His relationship through his mother with the reigning kings of Videha,



THE JAIN TEMPLE, CALCUTTA

Magadha, and Anga (Bhāgalpur) gained for his preaching the advantage of official patronage.

Life of Gautama Buddha. Gautama, surnamed the Buddha, because he claimed to have attained *bodhi*, or supreme knowledge, the secret of existence, was for some years the

contemporary of Mahāvīra. His father, Suddhodhana, was a prince or nobleman in the small town of Kapilavastu, situated in the territory of the Sākya clan, which took rank among the Kshatriyas. Hence he is often called Sākyamuni, or the Sākya sage. The land of the Sākyas was the narrow strip of country between the Rāptī river and the mountains, now mostly included in the Nepalese Tarāi and lying to the north of the Bastī District in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

The legends dwell with much play of imagination on the manner in which the young prince became oppressed by sadness and lost all desire for the delights of a court. He became convinced that existence is misery leading to old age, disease, and death, and sought an escape from the endless circle of rebirth. Sitting under a tree near Gayā, he tried to win salvation by the severest penance, but found no peace. At last he saw the light, put away penance as vanity, and, going to Benares, preached to a few disciples his three great principles that 'all the constituents of being are transitory, are misery, and are lacking in an ego, or permanent self (*ātman*)'. His philosophy was based on those doctrines, but as a moralist he taught a lofty system of practical ethics, impressing on men the necessity for personal striving after holiness, and laying special stress on the virtues of truthfulness, reverence to superiors, and respect for animal life. Like Mahāvīra, he wandered for the rest of his life with his disciples through Magadha and the neighbouring kingdoms, and, after a ministry of forty-five years, passed away at the age of eighty at Kusinagara, a small town probably situated near Tribenī Ghāt, at the confluence of the Little Rāptī with the Gandak. The date of his death is uncertain, but there is good reason for believing that the event happened in or about 543 B.C., the traditional date.

Diffusion of Buddhism. From these small beginnings arose the great Buddhist religion, which, after many ages of success

in India, slowly died out, and almost completely disappeared from the land of its birth about seven centuries ago. But it still flourishes abundantly in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Nepāl, Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan. The well-organized order of monks and nuns (*saṅgha*) was the most effective instrument in the spread of this religion, which was much helped by the powerful patronage of Asoka.

Buddhism as a religion. Gautama, the Buddha, can hardly be said to have had or to have taught a religion, properly so called. He had a philosophy, the nature of which has been indicated above, although it is impossible here to bring out the full meaning of his principles. He also taught, as others had taught before him, a simple, easily understood *dharma* or rule of life. That rule required his disciples to aim at purity in deed, word, and thought ; observing ten commandments—namely not to kill, steal, or commit adultery ; not to lie, invent evil reports about other people, indulge in fault-finding or profane language ; to abstain from covetousness, and hatred, and to avoid ignorance. But he did not profess to expound the relation of God to man—in fact, without denying the existence of a Supreme Deity, he ignored it.

It was the devotion of his followers to the person of Buddha which made Buddhism a religion capable of warming the hearts of men and women. That ardent personal devotion developed early and ended in practically making Buddha a god, instead of a mere dead moralist and philosopher. The primitive Buddhism, which ignored the Divine, was known in later times as the Hīna-yāna, or Lesser Vehicle of Salvation, while the modified religion, which recognized the value of prayer and regarded Buddha as the Saviour of mankind, was called Mahā-yāna, or the Greater Vehicle. Siam, Ceylon, and Burma mostly, but by no means exclusively, follow the primitive Hīna-yāna doctrine ; the other Buddhist countries have adopted the Mahā-yāna in diverse varieties, some of which in both doctrine and ritual closely resemble certain

forms of Christianity. The Pāla kings of Bengal, from the eighth to the twelfth century, also adhered to Mahā-yāna Buddhism, which, as practised in Bengal and Bihār, was not always easy to distinguish from Hinduism.

Causes of the decay of Buddhism. The decay, like the growth, of a religion is a complicated matter not to be described or explained in a few sentences. But we may note that the decay of Buddhism was extremely gradual, spread over many centuries, and that it was not in any large measure the result of active persecution. Undoubtedly, certain kings from time to time did treat Buddhists with cruelty, but deeper causes were at work. The principal cause, perhaps, was the continuous hostility of the Brahmins, who had never lost their influence in India throughout the ages. We can see that the Gupta period was marked by a strong Hindu or Brahminical revival which was carried further by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa in the eighth century (see *post*, Chapter VII). In the end, the Brahmins defeated both Buddhism and Jainism.

The Mohammedan conquest at the end of the twelfth century happened to include South Bihār, the province in which Buddhism then had its strongest hold. Moslem violence at that time had much to do with the almost sudden and complete extinction of Buddhism in India proper. The corruptions introduced into the *saṅgha*, or monastic order, by the growth of wealth in the monasteries, no doubt had effect in lessening popular respect for the Buddhist teachers. The foreign settlers who entered India in large numbers during the fifth and sixth centuries were not much attracted by Buddhist teaching, while they found it easy to accept more or less fully the Hindu rule of life, and so became converted into Hindu castes, guided by Brahmins. That process will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Jainism confined to India. Jainism never attempted distant conquests. Although it became powerful in the south as well as in the north for several centuries, it never spread to any

considerable extent beyond the limits of India, and now tends to decline rather than increase in influence. Its followers number about a million and a half, and are mostly found among the trading classes of Western India and Rājputāna.

Dravidian resistance to the Aryan religions. The three northern religions—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism—had to fight a hard fight against the native 'devil-worship' of the Dravidian or Tamil nations in the south, who long resisted Aryan teaching in any form. But ultimately the resistance of the southerners was overcome, and, after the decay of Buddhism and Jainism, Hinduism emerged triumphant, India from end to end becoming the 'land of the Brahmins' and the home of caste, the specially Brahmin institution.

Caste. The basis of Hindu society and of Hindu ethics or morals is the institution known to Europeans as 'caste' or 'the caste system'. The word caste is Portuguese; the thing is so peculiarly Indian that it cuts off India from the rest of the world by a barrier far more impassable than deserts, seas, or mountains.

In many countries, ancient and modern, distinctions of classes, often hereditary, may be observed, which more or less resemble the Indian institution of caste. But the resemblance is never very close.

India alone presents now, and has presented for thousands of years, the spectacle of hundreds or thousands of distinct communities each kept apart from its neighbours by strict rules regulating marriage, diet, and every detail of life. Moreover, all these thousands of sections agree in regarding the people of the rest of the world who are not Hindus as mere *mlēcchas*—that is to say, outcasts and barbarians. Even kings and viceroys of foreign race are so regarded from the caste point of view.

Origins of the institution. Much ink has been spilled in trying to find the origins of the Hindu caste system and in offering explanations of its unique nature. The results have

not been wholly satisfactory. In fact, the subject is too intricate to admit of summary disposal in a few words, and any writer who professes to state in two or three sentences the origins and nature of Indian caste misleads his readers. I will not attempt to perform the impossible, and must content myself with certain brief observations, true as far as they go, which may help the junior student.

We know for certain that the system of caste was well established in its essential features two thousand four hundred years ago, and consequently that its beginnings must go back to a time many centuries earlier.

It is clear that one reason why the system developed in India so much more fully than elsewhere was the physical isolation of the country (*ante*, p. 2), which forced its inhabitants to work out for themselves their own rule of life (*dharma*). Such isolation of the whole country was repeated on a smaller scale in the interior, where each village community stood for itself. The wide difference in feeling and habits between the Indo-Aryans and the earlier 'aboriginal' inhabitants of other races had a large share in laying the foundation for caste distinctions. The formation of separate castes was helped by diversities in occupation, language, religion, and place of residence. Some castes are in the main trade guilds, while some are almost identical with religious sects (*sampradāya*).

The Brahmins, the most intellectual class of the Indo-Aryans, established their supremacy over Indian minds at a very early date. Those Brahmins had extremely strict notions about ceremonial purity, and an intense horror of defilement. The respect for ceremonial purity, with the corresponding horror of defilement, is really the essence of the caste sentiment. Everybody knows that 'loss of caste' is always due to pollution in some shape or other. The Brahmins set the ideal of *dharma*, or duty, and all other classes of the population tried to live up to that ideal. The nearer

a caste comes to the Brahmin ideal the higher it ranks, while the farther from that ideal a caste remains, the lower it is in the social scale. So much must suffice concerning the origins and nature of the caste system.[1]

The four *varṇas*. Brahmin theory regards Hindus as divided into four *varṇas*, or groups of castes, according to occupation. The first *varṇa* is that of the Brahmins, the learned, literary class, qualified to direct religious ceremonies and to teach and interpret the sacred scriptures. The second *varṇa* is that of the Kshatriyas, whose business was war and government, with the help of Brahmin ministers. The third *varṇa* is that of the Vaisyas, tradesmen and agriculturists. The fourth is that of the Sūdras, the common folk, who were expected to be content with doing service to their betters, the three higher *varṇas*, called ' twice-born ' (*dwija*), in virtue of certain ceremonies, not permissible for Sūdras.

Brahmin authors expressed the relative rank of the *varṇas* by saying that the Brahmins proceed from the mouth, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vaisyas from the thighs, and the Sūdras from the feet of Brahmā, the Creator.

Early Buddhist writers sought to exalt the Kshatriyas to the foremost rank, speaking sometimes of ' base-born Brahmins ' ; but in the end the Brahmins won, and now their claim to the first place is acknowledged by all or nearly all Hindus.[2]

It is a mistake to translate *varṇa* by the word caste, and to say, as is often said, that originally there were four castes in India. Each *varṇa* always included a multitude of separate castes (*jātis*). The *varṇas* are simply a theoretical grouping of pre-existing castes. Whether a particular caste (*jāti*) should

[1] In Southern India the castes mostly represent either original tribes or colonies of foreign settlers. Their formation does not depend much on occupation. A Vellāla, for instance may follow any decent occupation, and the members of the Vellāla caste can do nearly everything needed to keep a village community going.

[2] Exceptions are the Lingāyat sect in the south, and to some extent the Jats in the north.

be included or not in a particular *varṇa* is a matter for arbitrary judgement. For example, the modern Kāyasths claim to be Kshatriyas, while other people regard them as Sūdras. The terms Vaisya and Sūdra are not in ordinary use in Northern India, and are to be met with only in books and in discussions about the rank of certain castes. If any province were to be taken, no two people would agree as to the list of castes in it to be assigned to each *varṇa*. The number of separate castes in the whole of India is believed to exceed three thousand.[1]

The good and evil of caste. The division of the Hindu population of over two hundred millions into thousands of separate caste compartments, the extreme reverence paid to Brahmins, and the corresponding degradation of the lowest castes, are facts which have obvious inconveniences and disadvantages. The breaking up of the people into so many distinct blocks prevents or obstructs the growth of patriotic or national feeling, checks combination in social and public life, excites sectional jealousies, and is hostile to all modern democratic notions. Hinduism does not profess to regard men as equal. A Brahmin cannot possibly look on a Chamār as equal to himself, and can hardly help feeling a certain amount of arrogance. The position of the low castes is depressed by the servility required from them. The inconveniences resulting from the strict enforcement of the rules concerning ceremonial purity are felt daily, and are a serious obstruction to the conduct of business on modern lines. Caste is an old-world institution, constantly clashing with the ideas and requirements of the twentieth century.

On the other hand, Hindu society is built on caste, and if the foundation be dug away the whole structure must fall. The system has succeeded in holding Hindu society together

[1] The word *varna* primarily means ' colour ', but no one could venture to affirm that the four *varṇas*, in the sense of caste groups, are to be actually distinguished by four different colours. When a Hindu assigns the colours white, yellow, red, and black, to the four several *varṇas*, he is merely indulging his fancy without regard to facts.

throughout long ages of despotism, each caste being a powerful organization hard to crush. However deficient the members of any one caste may be in sympathy for outsiders, and however devoid of the feeling of general brotherhood, encouraged in different degrees by the Christian and Moslem religions, the caste-followers at any rate hang together and support each other in all sorts of ways. Caste is an extremely conservative institution, and has done much to preserve Hindu tradition. It has also secured the hereditary passing on of arts and sciences from father to son. But it is not easy to reconcile it with the rapid progress in material arts and appliances which marks the present age.

Ethics or morals. The caste system hinders the acceptance of any universal doctrine of morals. Each caste is a law unto itself, and Hindus readily admit that actions very wrong for one man may be quite right for another. The *Bhagavad Gītā* lays down the Hindu view plainly :

' Better one's own duty (*dharma*), though destitute of merit, than the duty of another well discharged. Better death in the discharge of one's own duty : the duty of another is full of terror ' (iii. 35). The sentiment is repeated in a later passage, with the addition :

' He who takes action (*karma*) in accordance with his own nature (*bhāvā*) does not incur sin ' (xviii. 47). Each caste is looked on as a separate species of mankind, with its own nature, producing action in accord with that nature.

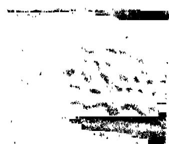
The future of caste. Many changes in the working of the institution have occurred during the long course of ages. For example, the intermarriages between different *varṇas*, as between Brahmins and Kshatriyas, which were not uncommon even in the early centuries of the Christian era, are no longer permitted. The pressure of practical convenience often compels people to evade or defy old-fashioned restrictions. Everybody in India knows how railways, waterworks, and other modern inventions have modified the rules about

defilement. But in spite of all changes on the surface, the institution remains substantially what it was in the days of Alexander the Great. So far as I can see, the abolition of caste in India is impracticable, even if it be granted that the evil of the system outweighs the good. Reformers must be content, for a long time to come, to accept the existence of caste as a fact and make the best of it, by bringing the practice of caste *dharma* into harmony with the conditions of modern life, so far as may be. When the authorities have thoughtlessly violated it, as at Vellore in 1806, and in the matter of the greased cartridges in 1857, grave trouble has resulted.

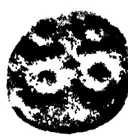
The four stages of a Brahmin's life. In theory every Brahmin was supposed to divide his life into four stages (*āśramas*) : first, for many years as a student ; secondly, as a married householder ; thirdly, as a hermit in the forest ; and fourthly, as a religious mendicant or beggar. It is hardly necessary to add that this theory was never fully acted on, and that it is wholly unworkable in these days.

Absorbent power of the caste system. The rigid caste system as it exists at the present day takes notice of Hindus only : all outsiders, native or foreign, high or low, being regarded as *mlēcchas*, or casteless people. Nevertheless, the system has always shown a wonderful power of absorption, and almost all foreigners resident permanently in India have yielded to its seductions. Yavanas, Sakas, Hūnas, and many other swarms of foreign immigrants have disappeared, losing their separate existence in the sea of caste, either through being admitted into old castes by the help of legal fictions, or through the formation of new castes. Even Islam, the principles of which are utterly hostile to caste distinctions, has been unable to resist the pressure, and multitudes of Indian Mohammedans, like their Hindu neighbours, are fast bound in the trammels of caste, although they do not actually become Hindus, as the descendants of earlier invaders did.

The ascetic orders and caste. The ascetic orders, whether Jain, Buddhist, or orthodox Hindu, usually have been and still are willing to admit to membership persons of almost any caste, and to ignore distinctions of birth among the brethren. Some writers erroneously have supposed Buddhism to have been a revolt against caste, but as a matter of fact the lay Buddhist retained his caste, just as the Jain layman does now. It is, however, true that the free offer of the way of salvation, made to all comers by both Buddhism and Jainism, clashed with the Brahmin doctrine that the teaching of the highest truths should be reserved for the highest castes, and so far both religions diminished the importance of caste distinctions. But neither Mahāvīra nor Gautama sought to abolish caste.



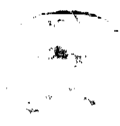

COINS OF TAXILA

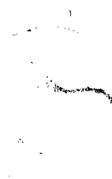
ĀNDHRA COIN



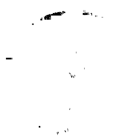

COIN OF MENANDER

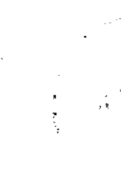
COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA I



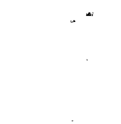

COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA
(Horse-sacrifice type)

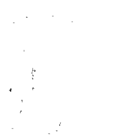
? PALLAVA COIN

COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II




CHERA COIN

PĀNDYA COIN




COIN OF RĀJARĀJA

ANCIENT INDIAN COINS

BOOK II

HINDU INDIA FROM 650 B.C. TO A.D. 1193: MAHMŪD OF GHAZNĪ

CHAPTER IV

The dynasties preceding the Mauryas: Magadha; Kosala; the Nandas; Alexander the Great

Beginning of regular history. The preceding chapters have dealt with events which, excepting the foundation of the Jain and Buddhist systems, cannot be dated. Regular history is concerned only with events which can be arranged in order of time and are capable of being dated approximately, if not exactly. In the case of India such history cannot be attempted before about 650 B.C., when we obtain a glimpse of a few definite political facts. But even then, and for about three centuries later, our knowledge is extremely scanty, and almost wholly confined to certain states in the Gangetic basin. Nothing definite is known about the Deccan or the Far South in those early times.

Sixteen northern powers. The most ancient Buddhist books give a list of sixteen states or tribal territories which existed in Northern India about the time of the rise of Buddhism or a little earlier. These extended from Gandhāra, the country of the Gāndhāras, on the extreme north-west of the Panjāb, including the modern districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi, to Avantī or Mālwā, with its capital Ujjain, which still retains its ancient name unchanged. Among these sixteen states two are prominent in tradition—namely Kosala, or the territory of the Kosalās, and Magadha, or the territory of the Māgadhās.

Magadha. The kingdom of Magadha (S. Bihār), approximately equivalent originally to the Gayā and Patna Districts south of the Ganges, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as having attained the rank of a paramount power under King Jarāsandha. The earliest capital was the hill-fort of Rājagriha or Rājgir (Girivraja). The most ancient king who can be approximately dated was Sisunāga (about 650 B.C.), but nothing is known about him or his next three successors.

Bimbisāra ; Ajātasatru ; Darius. Bimbisāra, or Srenika, the fifth Saisunāga king, is credited with the foundation of New Rājgir, the outer town at the base of the hill, and with the annexation of the small kingdom to the east, Anga or Champa, roughly equivalent to the Bhāgalpur District, and probably including Monghyr (Mungir). This annexation was the first step in Magadha's progress to greatness during historical times. After a reign of twenty-eight years Bimbisāra abdicated in favour of his son Ajātasatru or Kuniya, who is said to have starved his father to death, according to Buddhist stories. Gautama Buddha is said to have met Ajātasatru and reproved him for his crime. The Jains deny the alleged murder. A fort built by this king at Pātali, to check the incursions of the Licchhavis of Vaisāli from the north side of the river, developed into the magnificent city of Pātaliputra, the modern Patna and Bankipore.

About 500 B.C., in the reign of either Darsaka or Udaya (for dates are uncertain), Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of Persia, sent an expedition commanded by Skylax of Karyanda, to explore the rivers of the Panjāb. The admiral reached the sea, and the Indus valley became a province of the Persian empire, to which it yielded a large revenue. Indian archers were included in the Persian army defeated at Plataea, in Greece, in 479 B.C. The Persians probably ruled the Indus region for many years, but how or when they lost control of it is not known.

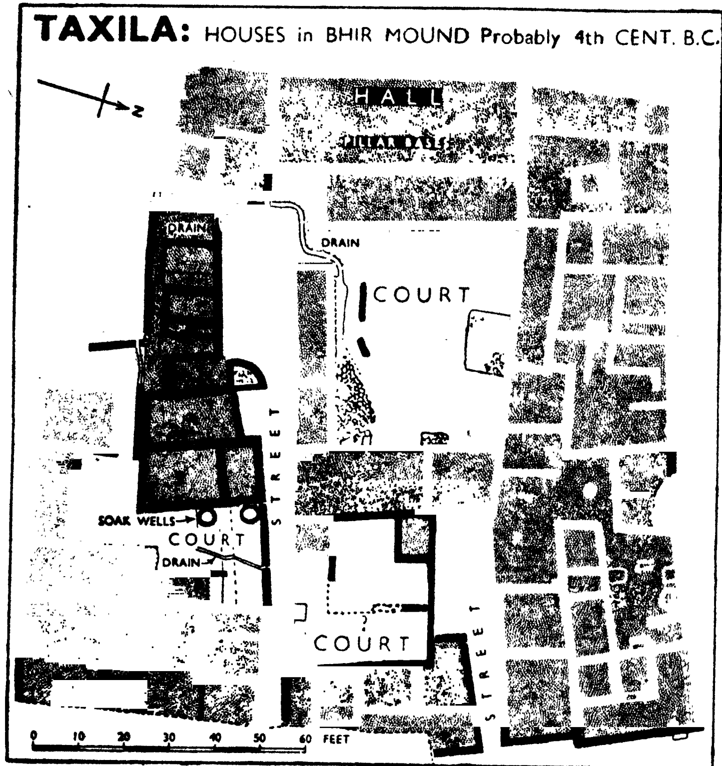
Kosala. Bimbisāra of Magadha was married to the sister of Prasenajit, king of Kosala, who went to war with Ajātasatru, perhaps because he murdered his father. The war was waged with varying fortune, but ultimately peace was made and Prasenajit gave a daughter to Ajātasatru in marriage. Some three years later, Virūdhaka, Crown Prince, rebelled against his father Prasenajit, who fled to the capital of his former enemy of Magadha, but died before he entered the gates. Virūdhaka succeeded to the throne of Kosala, and is remembered as the author of a cruel massacre of the Sākyas, the kinsmen of Buddha. After his time the kingdom of Kosala was overshadowed by the growing power of Magadha. At an early date Kosala had absorbed the smaller kingdom of Kāsī or Benares, and when at its greatest extent included the whole of Oudh, and all the country between the Ganges, the Gandak, and the mountains. The capital was the city of Srāvasti, on the upper course of the Rāptī, probably the modern Saheth-Maheth in Northern Oudh. The whole of this territory passed under the rule of Magadha, but we cannot fix the date.



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The 'Nine Nandas'. Mahāpadma Nanda, the son of the last Saisunāga king, Mahānandin, by a Sūdra woman, usurped his father's throne, and is said to have been succeeded by his eight sons. The dynasty of two generations is therefore known to tradition as that of the Nine Nandas. Mahāpadma was reigning when Alexander the Great was in India, and the invader was told that the king of Magadha possessed an army

of 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 chariots, and 3,000 or 4,000 war elephants; but he was so unpopular that there was reason to believe his army would not support him. Alexander did not get the chance of testing the accuracy of



this information, as his own troops refused to plunge farther into unknown country.

Alexander the Great. Alexander, king of Macedon, in the north of Greece, in the course of the years from 334 to 331 B.C. had conquered Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, defeating

the Persian monarch, Darius Codomannus, in three pitched battles, and taking his place. Having resolved to conquer India, he crossed the Indus at Ohind in February or March, 326, and was hospitably received by the king of Taxila, then a great city, the ruins of which are traceable near Hasan Abdāl, in the Attock District, Panjāb.[1] The Rājā of the country between the Indus and the Jihlam or Hydaspes river, whom Greek and Roman writers call Porus, tried to stop the invader, but was defeated in a battle near Jihlam. Alexander then pushed on eastward, passing Siālkōt, across the rivers of the Panjāb, until he came to the last of them, the Biās

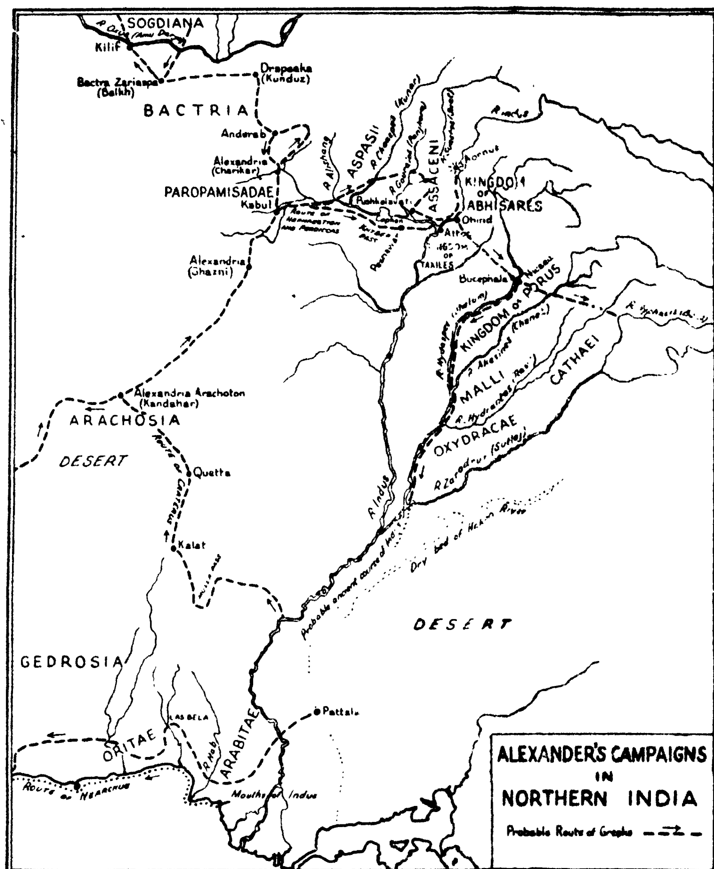


PORUS MEDAL

or Hyphasis, when his European troops refused to go on, and he was obliged to turn back, and retrace his steps. Meantime his officers had built near Jihlam a fleet of about two thousand vessels, on which he embarked part of his army. The rest marched along the banks of the Hydaspes and other rivers, and after ten months the whole force, fighting its way, reached the mouths of the Indus. The courses of the rivers have changed so much that it is not possible to trace the stages of Alexander's

[1] Excavations at Taxila have revealed the existence of a number of ancient sites. Beneath the Bhir mound lies the old city which Alexander visited. With the coming of the Baktrian Greeks, the old site was abandoned and a new city sprang up at what is now known as Sirkap, which continued to be an important Buddhist centre under the Saka, Parthian and Kushān kings. See Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila*, p. 21.

voyage and marches from north to south through the Panjāb and Sind. The fleet sailed round by sea to the Persian Gulf, and Alexander himself led a division of his army through



Balōchistan or Gedrosia. After much suffering and heavy losses, he met his fleet, and brought what was left of his army into Persia. He had previously sent another division back to that country by the Mūla Pass route. In June 323 B.C.,

Alexander died at Babylon, aged thirty-two. No other man in the history of the world ever accomplished so much in so short a time and at such an early age.

He had intended to annex the Panjāb and Sind to his empire, but his premature death made the task impossible—no other hand could wield the sceptre of universal dominion. The empire fell to pieces and was carved into kingdoms by his generals, none of whom was strong enough to hold the distant Indian provinces. In three or four years all traces of Macedonian rule in the Indus valley had disappeared, and the local powers were left to their own devices. Indian writers do not mention Alexander's raid, for our knowledge of which we are indebted to Greek authors. The Macedonian invasion had practically no direct effect on Indian institutions. The Greek influence which made itself felt in certain respects afterwards came from the Baktrian kingdom, and still later from the Asiatic provinces of the Roman empire.

CHAPTER V

The Maurya empire: Chandragupta; accounts of India by Greek writers; Asoka and his successors

Chandragupta Maurya. About the time of Alexander's death, or a little earlier, a revolution took place in Magadha, which cost the unpopular Nanda king his throne and life. A young man named Chandragupta, who is said to have met Alexander, and seems to have been related to the Nanda royal family, assembled a force of robber clans from the north and seized the kingdom of Magadha, the capital of which was then Pātaliputra, the modern Patna. His agent in effecting the revolution was Chānakya, also called Kautilya or Vishnugupta, a wily Brahmin, who became his minister. An ancient treatise called *Arthaśāstra*, attributed to Kautilya, gives precise details of the systems of government in the small

Hindu kingdoms of Northern India as worked before Chandragupta made himself the master of them all. The accession of Chandragupta may be dated in 322 or 325 B.C., but at this period it is impossible to fix dates with absolute precision. The family name Maurya is supposed to be derived from Murā, the mother of Chandragupta. The line of his successors down to about 184 B.C. is spoken of as the Maurya dynasty.

The first emperor of India. Before the time of Chandragupta India had been parcelled into a multitude of small states, some monarchies, some tribal republics, which were continually fighting among themselves, and owed no allegiance to any overlord. But the new king of Magadha, a stern and masterful man, was determined to bring his neighbours into subjection. In the course of a reign of twenty-four years he carried out this plan and made himself the sovereign of at least all Northern India. He is the first historical person who can be described as Emperor of India, but, of course, his rule did not extend to the Far South. Its exact limits southwards are not known.

Seleukos Nikātor. When Alexander's empire was finally partitioned in 321 B.C. among his generals, one of them, Seleukos, surnamed Nikātor, 'the Victorious', obtained as his share Syria, Asia Minor, and the eastern provinces. After a prolonged struggle with rivals he was crowned king at Babylon in 312 B.C., and is known to historians as king of Syria. Seleukos thought that he would like to recover Alexander's conquests. About 305 B.C. he crossed the Indus with the intention of subduing the country. But Chandragupta was too strong for him, and Seleukos was obliged to retreat, surrendering all claim to the satrapies or provinces west of the Indus. Those provinces passed under the sway of Chandragupta, who thus ruled the countries now called Balōchistan and Afghanistan, as well as all Northern India. Seleukos was content to take five hundred elephants as

compensation for three rich provinces, and concluded a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta, probably giving a daughter to the Indian king.

Megasthenēs, and Greek accounts of India. Soon afterwards the Syrian monarch sent an envoy named Megasthenēs to the court of Chandragupta at Pātaliputra. That officer lived there a long time and spent his leisure in compiling a careful account of the geography, products, and institutions of India, which continued to be the principal authority on the subject for European readers until modern times. Although his book has been lost, copious extracts from it have been preserved by other writers, which give the pith of the work. Our knowledge of the system of government in the time of Chandragupta is derived largely from Megasthenēs. His statements disclose a well-ordered State, governed by a stern, capable despot, who did not hesitate to shed blood, and consequently lived in daily fear of assassination. According to some traditions he was a Jain, abdicated, and starved himself to death. His empire certainly passed undiminished to his son and grandson.

The army of the Mauryas. The main instrument of authority was a powerful standing army of paid soldiers equipped from government arsenals, and, as usual in ancient India, comprising the four arms of infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephant corps. The war elephants numbered 9,000, attended by 36,000 men, the cavalry were 30,000, and the infantry 600,000. The chariots kept by Mahāpadma Nanda numbered 8,000, and Chandragupta's force in that arm, of which the strength is not stated, probably was still greater. The four arms were administered by four Boards; transport, commissariat, and army service were the business of a fifth Board, and a sixth attended to admiralty affairs.

The capital and civil administration. The capital city, Pātaliputra, situated on the northern bank of the Sōn, which then joined the Ganges below the city, was strongly fortified,

and administered by a Municipal Commission composed of six Boards or *panchāyats*, consisting each of five members, and charged with various duties. The other great cities of the empire probably were governed on similar lines. The general civil administration also was effective. Elaborate rules providing for the proper treatment of strangers show that the empire had constant dealings with foreign States. The mainstay of finance was then, as now, the land revenue, or Crown rent, generally amounting to one-fourth of the gross produce. Like the modern Government of India, the king levied water-rates, and assessed land at rates varying with the mode of irrigation. The subject of irrigation was carefully attended to by a special department, as it is now by the Canals branch of the Public Works staff. Besides the land revenue and water-rates, many other taxes and cesses were levied, among the most profitable to the treasury being the tax on goods sold.

Revenue and criminal law. The revenue and criminal law was severe and sternly administered. Theft was ordinarily punished by mutilation, which was also the penalty for wilful false statements made to revenue officers, and for sundry other crimes. Evasion of the town duty on goods sold was punishable with death, which was inflicted without scruple for many offences. But this severity, if repugnant to modern feeling, had the good effect of maintaining order. Judicial torture for the purpose of extracting confessions was recognized and freely used, the principle laid down being that 'those whose guilt is believed to be true shall be subjected to torture', of which there were eighteen kinds, including seven varieties of whipping. A regular system of excise was in force, the drinking-shops being under official supervision, as they now are.

Reign of Bindusāra. About 300 B.C. Chandragupta either died or abdicated, and was succeeded by his son Bindusāra Amitraghāta. No detailed record of the events of his reign

has survived, but the history of Asoka shows that Bindusāra certainly maintained and probably enlarged the empire inherited from his father.

Asoka—273-232 B.C. Asoka, or to give him his full name, Asoka-vardhana, was viceroy of Ujjain at the time of his father's death, if Buddhist tradition may be believed. The Buddhist monks pretend that Asoka in his youth was cruel and wicked, attaining the throne by the murder of ninety-eight out of ninety-nine brothers. But there does not seem to be any truth in these tales, because Asoka's inscriptions prove that long after his accession he had brothers and sisters living for whose welfare he took anxious care. His inscriptions, which are numerous, are the best authority for the events of his reign. The coronation of Asoka (about 269 B.C.) did not take place until four years after his accession. The delay may or may not have been due to some dispute about the succession.

War with Kalinga. Some eight years after his coronation, Asoka went to war with Kalinga, the country on the coast of the Bay of Bengal between the Mahānadī and Godāvarī rivers. After hard fighting he overcame all resistance and conquered that kingdom. But he was horrified at the suffering caused by his ambition, and has recorded his 'remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death, and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret'. Asoka's first war was his last, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to winning 'the chiefest conquest, the conquest by the Law of Piety or Duty (*dharma*)'.

Asoka's devotion to Buddhism. This sudden change in his feelings seems to have been due to his acceptance of the teachings of Buddhism, to which, as the years went on, he became more and more devoted, even to the extent of assuming the robes and vows of a monk.

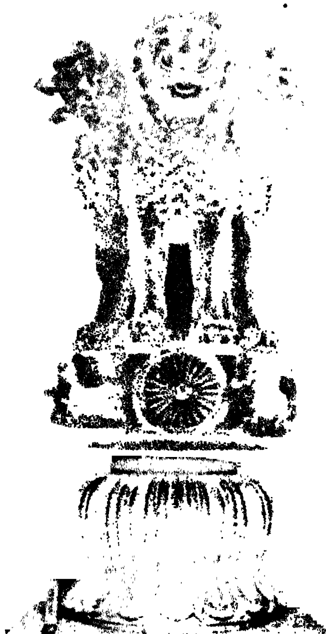
Asoka is said to have convened at his capital a council of Buddhist monks to reform the church and revise the scriptures. As a means of diffusing a knowledge of the Buddhist *dharma*, or moral law, he engraved a series of edicts on rocks and stone pillars throughout his dominions, which have been deciphered by European scholars since 1837. These records, which are found in Orissa, Mysore, the Panjāb, on the Bombay coast, and in other places, prove that Asoka ruled all India, except the extreme south below the fourteenth parallel of latitude.

Asoka's teaching. One of these inscriptions, on a rock in Mysore, may be quoted as giving a short summary of his moral teaching. It runs : 'Thus saith His Majesty :—"Father and mother must be obeyed ; similarly, respect for living creatures must be enforced ; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety (*dharma*), which must be practised. Similarly, the teacher must be revered by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations. This is the ancient standard of piety—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act." '

Censors were appointed to enforce obedience to these rules with all the power of the government, and the moral regulations were supplemented by works of practical piety. Banyan trees for shade and mango trees for fruit were planted along the high-roads, wells were dug, rest-houses were built, watering places were prepared for travellers, and abundant provision was made for the relief and cure of the poor and sick. All the forms of Indian religion were treated with respect, and the emperor enjoined his subjects to abstain from speaking evil of their neighbour's faith. Everybody, however, whatever his creed might be, had to obey the regulations of the government concerning his conduct. Men might believe what they liked, but must do as they were told.

Asoka's missions. The emperor organized a system of missions to carry his teaching to all the protected states on

the frontiers of the empire, including the Himālayan regions to the independent Tamil kingdoms of the Far South, to Ceylon, and to the Greek monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrēnē (west of Egypt), Macedonia, and Epirus, thus embracing three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe. If missionaries were sent also to Burma, as stated by some authorities, they produced little effect. The leading missionary to Ceylon was Mahendra (Mahinda), the brother, or, according to others, a son, of Asoka. In this way, Buddhism, which had been merely the creed of a local Indian sect, became one of the chief religions of the world, a position which, in spite of many ups and downs, it still holds. This result is the work of Asoka alone, and entitles him to rank for all time in that small body of men who may be said to have changed the faiths of the world. The numerous and wealthy Buddhist monasteries founded in the time of Asoka and in later ages did much to spread Buddhism, and no doubt looked after the education of the young, as the monks now do in Burma.



ASOKA LION CAPITAL

Asoka's greatness. The missions of Asoka, it has been said, were among the greatest civilizing influences in the world's history: for they entered countries for the most part barbarous and full of superstition, and exerted a beneficent influence by

putting *karma*, the law of cause and effect, in the place of the caprice of demons and tribal gods, and a lofty system of morals in the place of tribal customs. The Buddhist missionaries, moreover, brought with them much of the culture of their own land ; it seems clear, for instance, that Mahinda brought into Ceylon the arts of stone-carving and irrigation which his father had so successfully practised in India. The history of Ceylon and Burma, as of Siam, Japan and Tibet, may be said to begin with the entrance into them of Buddhism.

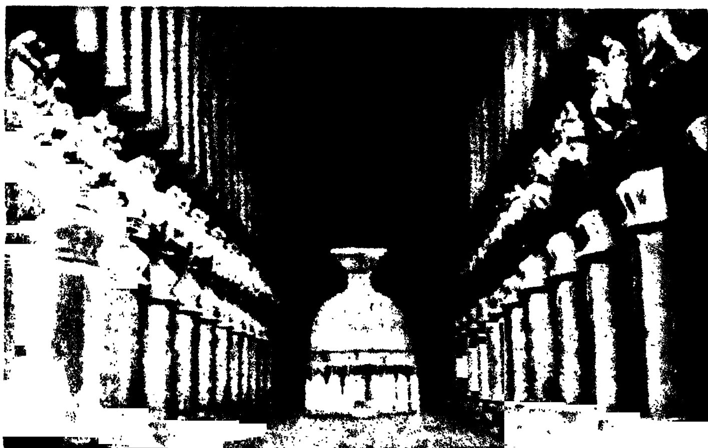


YAKSHINI FROM BHARHUT

The later Mauryas. In or about 232 B.C. the great Asoka passed away, the most notable figure in the early history of India. One tradition asserts that he died at Taxila, but nothing is known with certainty concerning his latter days or his death. Inscriptions prove that he was succeeded in the eastern part of his dominions by his grandson Dasaratha, and, according to tradition, the western provinces passed under the rule of another grandson, Samprati, who favoured the Jain religion. The names of five later members of the dynasty are recorded, but nothing is known about their reigns. It is clear that these princes must have enjoyed only limited power, and that the empire could not be held together after the removal of Asoka's controlling hand. The last of the Mauryas, Brihadratha, was slain, in or about 184 B.C., by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga.

Sunga, Kānva and Āndhra dynasties. Very little is on record about the Sunga dynasty founded by Pushyamitra, which is said to have lasted for a hundred and twelve years. The great grammarian, Patanjali, was a contemporary of Pushyamitra, in whose time a Greek king, most likely Menander, invaded India.

The Sungas were succeeded by the Kānva dynasty, to which forty-five years are assigned by the lists in the *Purānas*. The last Sunga was killed by an Āndhra prince, about 27 B.C.

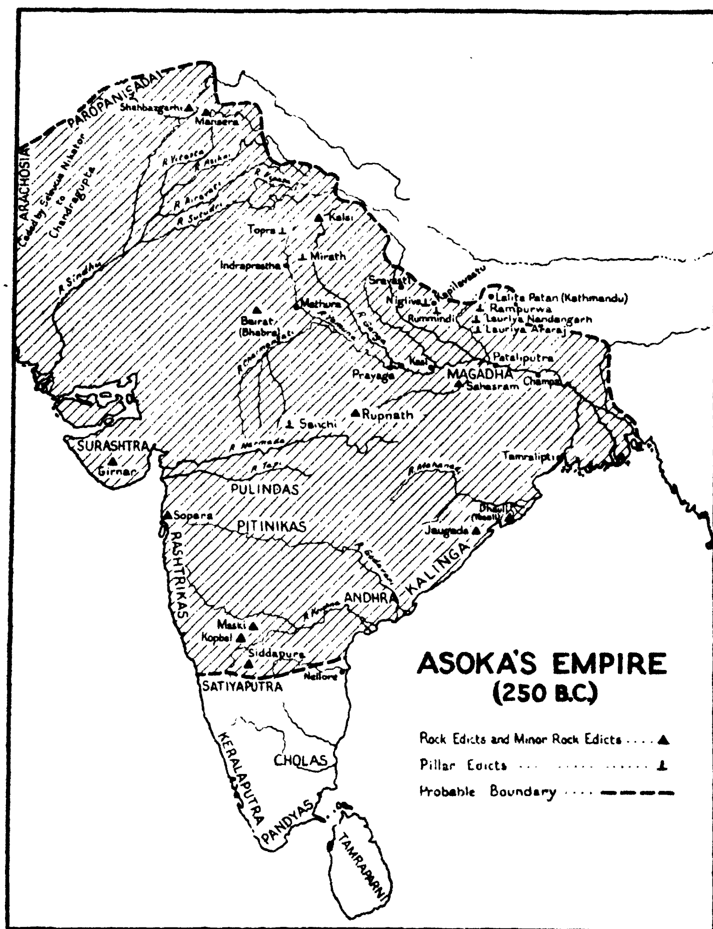


CAVE TEMPLE, KĀRLE

But the Āndhra dynasty had been established some two centuries earlier, probably soon after the death of Asoka, and had acquired a wide dominion extending across the Deccan from sea to sea. There is no distinct evidence that the Āndhras held Magadha, and the history of the dynasty is extremely obscure.

Buddhist art and architecture. Most of the architecture of the period was of carved wood, and has perished. But stone was coming into use. At sacred places, Asoka erected huge

monolithic pillars, which were highly polished and ornamented with finely carved capitals. He also built numbers of *stūpas*,



or domed cupolas of brick, to enshrine relics of the Buddha. There are famous groups of *stūpas* at Sānchi in Bhopāl State, which were afterwards encased in stone and furnished with

stone railings and highly sculptured gateways of great beauty by the Sunga and Āndhra kings. There were others at Bharhut in Central India and Amarāvatī on the Kistna (Krishnā) river. Great *chaityas* or chapels, sometimes called cave temples, were carved out of the hillsides at Kārlē in the Deccan and other places, and used as Buddhist monasteries. Many of these monasteries were endowed by the trade guilds which flourished under the Āndhras, and were erected along the great trade routes running from the west coast to Central India.

The Kings of Magadha

Approximate and disputed dates, mostly not exact

		B.C.
Sisunāga	acc.	642
Bimbisāra	acc.	582 (Prasenajit of Kosala contemp.)
Ajātasatru	acc.	554
Death of Gautama Buddha	?	543
Death of Mahāvīra	?	527
The Nine Nandas	acc.	413
Campaign of Alexander the Great		326-325 (date exact)
Chandragupta Maurya	acc.	322 or 325
Invasion of Seleukos Nikātor		305
Embassy of Megasthenes		303
Bindusāra	acc.	298 or 301
Asoka	acc.	273
Coronation		269
War with Kalinga		261
Death of Asoka		232
Other Mauryan kings		232-184
Sunga dynasty		184-72
Invasion of Menander	?	175
Kānva dynasty		72-27

CHAPTER VI

The foreign dynasties of the north-west: the Kushān (Kusana) empire; Kanishka; the Saka era; art and literature

Baktrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Parthian kings. Parthia, the country south-east of the Caspian Sea, and Baktria, the country between the Hindu Kush mountains and the river Oxus, which had been both included in the kingdom of Seleukos Nikātor, became independent monarchies under kings of Greek descent about the middle of the third century B.C., when Asoka was emperor of India. He probably continued to hold the provinces west of the Indus—the modern Balōchistan and Afghanistan, which had been ceded to his grandfather by Seleukos. After Asoka's death no Indian sovereign could retain those distant dependencies, which were broken up into a multitude of principalities governed by Greek kings, whose names are known from coins. One of these kings, Menander, lord of Kābul, appears to have invaded India, about 175 B.C., reached Oudh, and met the army of Pushyamitra Sunga. Parthian princes also governed parts of the frontier regions after 140 B.C. About that date Mithradates I of Parthia had annexed the Western Panjāb, and united it for a time with the Parthian empire, which included Persia.

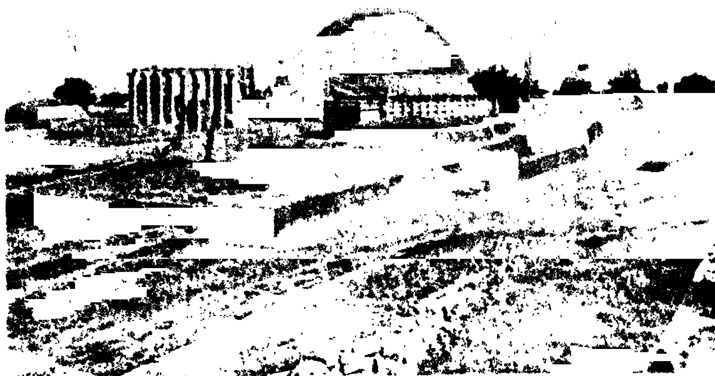
Saka and Kushān invasions. From about the middle of the second century B.C. the nomad and pastoral tribes of Central Asia for some reason or other, probably a change of climate, were obliged to leave their home territories and move to the south and west in search of pasturage for their herds and subsistence for themselves. These wild people overwhelmed the Greek kingdom of Baktria and set up governments of their own. The earliest swarm was known to the Indians by the name of Sakas. They made their way into Sīstān on the Hilmand river, west of Kandahār, which was consequently called Sakastān, or the Saka country. Saka rulers also established themselves in Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār, and

probably at Taxila and Mathurā. Another horde of nomads, called Yuehchi by the Chinese historians, descended through Baktria and Kābul to India. The leading clan of this horde was named Kushān or Kusana. About the last quarter of the first century after Christ the Kushān chief, known to historians as Kadphises II, conquered the various Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian princes on the frontier and made himself master of a large part of North-western India, where his coins are found abundantly.

Kanishka. His successor after an interval was Kanishka, also a Kushān, but of a family other than that of Kadphises II. Recent researches give support to the opinion that Kadphises II came to the throne in 78, and reigned for more than thirty years, until about 110, and that Kanishka attained supreme power about 120. His capital was Purushapura (Peshāwar), from which he ruled Kābul, Kashmīr, and all Northern India, perhaps as far as the Narbadā. In his later years he favoured Buddhism, and, like Asoka, assembled a council of Buddhist monks, which prepared authorized commentaries of the scriptures. He spent many years in war on the other side of the difficult Pāmīr passes, and, after the death of the Chinese general, Pan-chao (102), is believed to have annexed Kāshgar and Khotan, now in Chinese Turkistan. It was in this manner that Buddhism first spread to China. He is said to have been smothered by discontented officers. During his long absence India seems to have been governed, first by Vāshishka and then by Huvishka, presumably his sons, whose dates, consequently, overlap those of Kanishka. About 150 or 153 Huvishka succeeded to the sole government, certainly of India, and probably of the whole empire. He was a powerful king, and is known to have founded a town in Kashmīr and a monastery at Mathurā. In or about 182 Huvishka was succeeded by Vāsudeva I, during whose reign the empire began to break up. Scarcely anything is known of the history of Northern India from his

time to the rise of the Gupta dynasty in 320. There is reason to hope that the chronology of Kanishka, his predecessors and successors, will soon be settled definitely. Until that is done, an important section of the history of India must continue to be vague and confusing.

The Saka era. Opinions differ, but it is probable that the Saka era of 78 dates from the coronation of Kadphises II, the Saka king who subdued Northern India. Indian authors



THE GREAT *STŪPA*. SĀNCHI

use the term Saka vaguely to denote all foreigners from beyond the passes, and would not have hesitated in calling a Kushān a Saka. In later ages the era was known as that of Sālivāhana.

Kushān culture. Kanishka was converted to Buddhism and spent much money on Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas* at Mathurā, Peshāwar, and other places, of which some traces still exist. The remains of Kanishka's huge *stūpa* near Peshāwar were excavated in 1908-9, and a remarkable relic casket was found bearing the image of the king and an

inscription. An inscribed portrait statue of Kanishka, lacking the head, was found at Mat near Mathurā in 1912. The monasteries were often huge structures built of timber on brick foundations, several stories high and splendidly decorated. The Kushān kings, who were in close touch with the West, imported a number of Greek workmen from Asia Minor to do the work. These artists decorated the *stūpas* and monasteries with sculptures representing scenes from the lives of the Buddha, as described in the Buddhist books known as the *Jātakas* or Birth Stories. It is probable that they were the first to represent the Buddha in stone. These Graeco-Buddhist works of art are often named after Gandhāra, the district on the north-west frontier of India where they are chiefly found.

Like Asoka, Kanishka convened a Buddhist council, which was held in Kashmīr. But the Mahā-yāna Buddhism of Kanishka was very different from the simple creed taught by Gautama. Buddha was now a Saviour God like Vishnu, and was worshipped and represented as such in contemporary sculpture (*ante*, p. 35).

Two famous Sanskrit scholars, Nāgārjuna and Asvaghosha, as well as a medical author, Charaka, are reputed to have lived at Kanishka's court, which was a great centre of learning.

CHAPTER VII

The Gupta empire ; the Hūnas or White Huns ; reign of Harsha : state of civilization ; Chinese pilgrims ; Kālidāsa ; foreign trade

The Gupta dynasty. The next prominent dynasty of which records have been preserved is that of the Guptas. A Rājā of Pātaliputra, who took the name of Chandragupta I, enhanced his power at the beginning of the fourth century by marrying a princess of the influential Licchhavi clan of Vaisāli in Tirhūt, and formed a considerable kingdom extending along

the Ganges to Prayāg or Allahabad. In 319-20 he established the Gupta era to commemorate his coronation.

Samudragupta. The founder of the Gupta empire is a dim figure, hardly more than a dated name. His son and chosen successor, Samudragupta, stands forth as a real man—scholar, poet, musician, and warrior. The early years of his vigorous reign were devoted to the thorough conquest of Upper India, that is to say, the country now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh with the Central India Agency and Bengal, but not including the Panjāb. When that conquest was finished, he turned his arms against the south. Marching across the wild regions of the tributary states of Orissa, he advanced by the road of the eastern coast until he reached about the latitude of Nellore. He then turned westwards and came home through Khāndesh. He did not try to annex the realms beyond the Narbadā. He was content with receiving the humble submission of the vanquished princes and bringing home a huge store of golden booty. Having thus proved his title to be Lord Paramount of India, he celebrated the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*), lawful only for a king of kings. Extant medals testify to the liberal share of his bounty then bestowed on the Brahmins. When he died his dominions comprised all the most populous and fertile regions of Northern India, extending from the Hooghly on the east to the Sutlaj and Chambal on the west, and from the Himālayan slopes on the north to the Narbadā on the south. Beyond those limits of his direct government he controlled the wild tribes of the Himālayas and the Vindhyas, as well as the free clans of Rājputāna and Mālwā, while his ambassadors had dealings with the rulers of Ceylon in the Far South and of the Scythian kingdom on the Oxus in Central Asia. His empire was far greater than any that India had seen since the days of Asoka, six centuries earlier. The elegant inscription of Allahabad which records the conquests of Samudragupta tells also of his personal qualities, and its evidence as to his musical skill

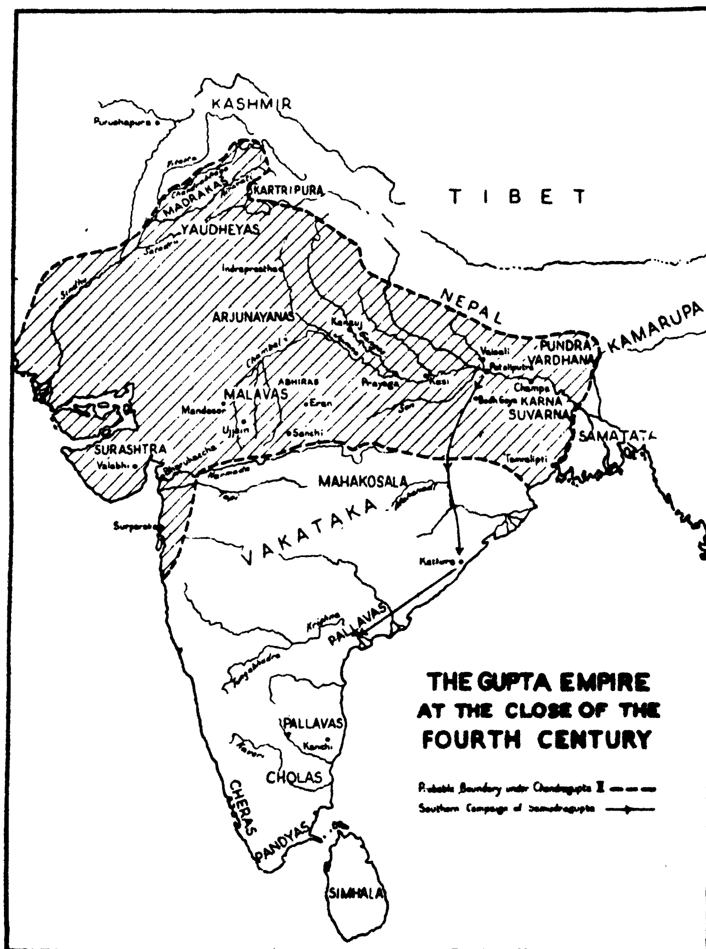
is confirmed by the medals which exhibit the king in the act of playing the Indian lute (*vīnā*). Pātaliputra apparently continued to be the capital of the immense empire won and held by Samudragupta.

Chandragupta Vikramāditya. The next king, Chandragupta II, surnamed Vikramāditya, who annexed Mālwā and Ujjain to his empire, is probably the original of Rājā Bikram, famous in legend. He dispossessed the Saka rulers of Surāshtra, who used the Persian title of Satrap, and are called the Western Satraps by modern writers. Chandragupta II seems to have made Ajodhya his capital. His reign (about 375 to 413) may be regarded as marking the climax or highest point attained by the imperial Guptas, a singularly able line of kings.

Kumāragupta, Skandagupta, and the Huns. His successor, Kumāragupta I (413-55), was troubled towards the end of his reign by irruptions of a fresh horde of Central Asian nomads, the White Huns or Ephthalites, who overcame the next king, Skandagupta, and broke up the Gupta empire, about 470. For a short time Northern India became a province of a huge White Hun empire, which embraced forty countries, extending from Persia on the west to Khotan in Chinese Turkistan on the east. In India the tyranny of the Hun chief, Mihiragula, becoming unbearable, he was defeated by Yasodharman, Rājā of Mālwā, and, perhaps, also by Narasimha Bālāditya Gupta, in or about 528, and forced to retire into Kashmīr. The nomad immigrants, known collectively to Indians as Huns, but comprising various tribes, settled in large numbers in the Panjāb and Rājputāna, and caused great changes. But history is almost silent as to details of events in the sixth century. It was certainly a time of confused warfare, and there was no paramount power.

The Vikrama era. The popular belief which associates the Vikrama era of 58-57 B.C. with a Rājā Vikramāditya or Bikram of Ujjain at that date is erroneous. No such person

is known. It is, however, true that the earliest known use of the era was in Mālwā and it may have been invented by



the astronomers of Ujjain. An early name of it was the Mālwā era. The term *Vikrama-kāla* used in later times may refer to one or other of the many kings with the title of

Vikramāditya or Vikrama, who was believed to have established the era. The king referred to may be presumed to be Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, who conquered Ujjain about 390. The Gupta and Saka eras changed their names similarly, becoming known in after ages as the Valabhī and the Sālivāhana eras respectively.

Reign of Harsha of Kanauj. At the beginning of the seventh century a strong man arose, Harsha, Rājā of Thānēsar, who, in the short space of six years (606-12), made himself master of Northern India as far as the Sutlaj, fixing his capital at Kanauj, and became the paramount power even over Surāshtra and Gujarāt in the west, and Assam and Bengal in the east. The equally vigorous ruler of the Deccan, Pulakesin II Chalukya (608-42), prevented him from extending his dominions south of the Narbadā. Harsha died early in 647, and his death was followed by another period of anarchy and confusion.

Chinese pilgrims ; Fa-hien. Our knowledge of events in the Gupta period and age of Harsha is largely derived from the narratives of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, who crowded into India as the Holy Land of their faith, and eagerly sought for Buddhist books, relics, and images. The earliest of these pilgrims was Fa-hien (399-413), who came overland through Khotan and returned to China by sea. He remained for six years in the dominions of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya studying Buddhist literature, and was much pleased with the country. Pātaliputra was still a flourishing city, with numerous charitable institutions, including a free hospital. In Mālwā the penal code was mild, and the people were not worried by official regulations. Order was well preserved, and the pilgrim was free to pursue his studies in peace. Although the Gupta king was himself an orthodox Vaishnava Hindu, Buddhism flourished and was fully tolerated.

Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang. Hiuen Tsang, or Yuan Chwang, the prince of pilgrims (629-45), came to India

overland by the road to the north of the Taklā Makān desert, and then through Samarkand, returning by the Pāmīrs and Khotan—a terribly long and arduous journey both ways. He visited almost every part of India, and recorded his experiences in a book of inestimable value. He became a personal friend of King Harsha, who, in his latter days, took a fancy to Buddhism. The king was a vigorous despot, keeping his dominions in order by personal supervision exercised during constant touring, interrupted only by the rains. The penal code was rather more severe than in the days of the Guptas, and the roads were not quite so safe, but the country seems to have been fairly well governed.

Buddhism was still strong, although orthodox Hinduism was gaining way. The king favoured all the Indian religions, doing honour in turn to Siva, the Sun, and Buddha, with a personal preference for the last-named. The pilgrim attended a strange assembly held at Kanauj, the capital, for the purpose of disputations on religious subjects, at which twenty tributary Rājās were present, including the rulers of Assam in the east, and Surāshtra in the west. Pātaliputra was in ruins. No record of the fall of the ancient imperial city has survived, but it can hardly be doubted that the disaster was a consequence of the Hun wars. Harsha lavished his favours on Kanauj, an old city between the Ganges and Jumna, which he made the seat of his government, filling it with splendid buildings. The Kanauj assembly moved on to Prayāg (Allahabad), where the sovereign ceremoniously distributed the wealth of his treasury to people of all denominations on the ground at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna where the great fair is now held annually. Harsha was in the habit of making such distributions every five years, and the celebration in which Hiuen Tsang assisted was the sixth of the reign.

The Gupta period a golden age. The Gupta period, and more especially the fifth century, may be justly regarded as the golden age of Northern India. Powerful and long-lived

kings of exceptional personal ability made extensive conquests and established a well-governed empire, in which the energies of gifted men had free scope. The kings maintained a splendid court, and gathered round their throne men of eminence in every branch of knowledge, on whom they bestowed liberal patronage. Literature, art and science were alike cultivated with success and distinction.

Literature : Kālidāsa. The name of Kālidāsa, whose activity may be referred to the reign of Kumāragupta I, in the first half of the fifth century, enjoys unquestioned preeminence. Unanimous opinion proclaims him as the chief of Sanskrit dramatists and poets. The *Ṛitu-saṁhāra*, or 'Cycle of the Seasons', and the *Meghadūta*, or 'Cloud Messenger', both charming descriptive poems of a lyrical character, seem to be among his early works. The heroic epic entitled *Raghuvaṁśa*, or 'The Race of Raghu', a product of his more mature genius, gives eloquent expression to the Hindu national ideal. *Sakuntalā*, acclaimed by all critics as the best of his three dramas, and one of the most interesting plays in the literature of the world, has succeeded in delighting alike European and Indian readers.

BUDDHA, SĀRNĀTH (Gupta Period)

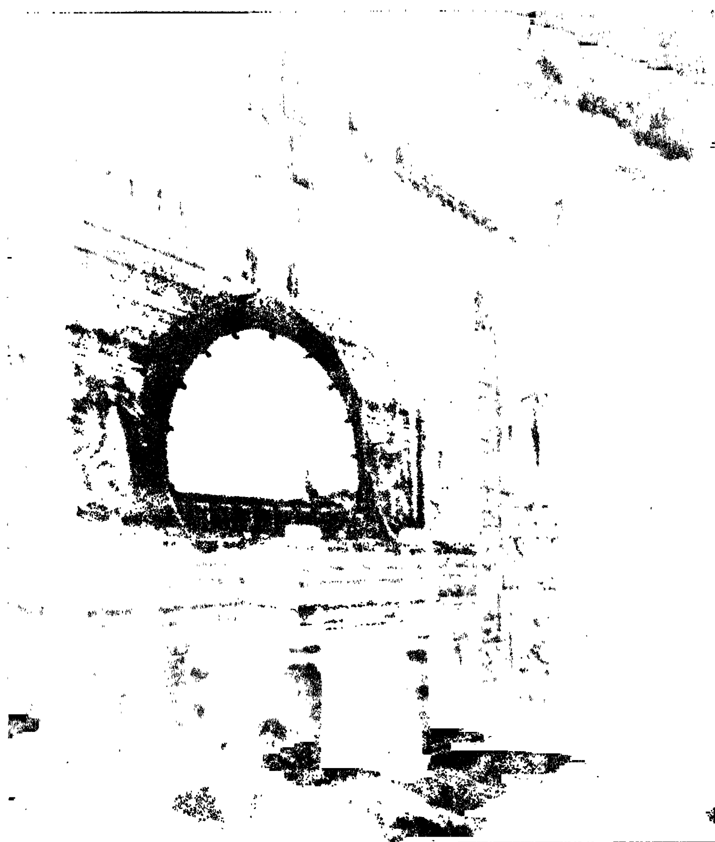
Sculpture, painting, and architecture. The sculpture of the Gupta age, the excellence of which was not fully recognized until recently, may be reasonably considered the best of all Indian sculpture, but, of course, tastes differ. Although no examples of Gupta painting have survived in Northern India, the power of the artists of the fifth and sixth centuries is proved by the beautiful frescoes of the Ajantā caves in the west and of Sīgiriya in Ceylon. The accident that the Gupta empire was mostly made up of those provinces which were continually overrun by Mohammedan armies and permanently occupied by Moslem governments explains the rarity of Gupta buildings. Mohammedan Sultāns and Padshahs seldom spared a Hindu edifice. But the little that has survived suffices to prove that the architecture of the Gupta period was worthy of the sculpture which adorned the buildings.

Coins and music. The only Hindu coins possessing any considerable artistic merit are certain pieces struck by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. We have seen how Samudragupta practised and patronized the art of music.

Science. Mathematical and astronomical science was largely advanced by Āryabhata (born 476), who taught the system studied at Pātaliputra, which was based on the works of Greek authors.

Causes of intellectual activity. It is impossible to go further into details or to mention less famous names, but what has been said is enough to show that every form of mental activity made itself felt during the Gupta period. The intelligent patronage of a series of able and wealthy kings for more than a century had much to do with the prosperity of the arts and sciences. A deeper cause was the conflict of ideas produced by the active intercourse between the Gupta empire and the great powers of both East and West. Many embassies to and

from China are recorded, while communication with the Byzantine Roman empire through Alexandria in Egypt was made easy by the conquests of Chandragupta II in the closing



FACADE OF CAVE TEMPLE. AJANTĀ

years of the fourth century. Although the works of the Gupta authors and artists are thoroughly Indian in subject and treatment, it may be doubted if they would ever have been

produced but for the stimulus given to Indian minds by their contact with the ideas of strangers.

Religion : Sanskrit. When the *Travels* of Fa-hien (399-413) are compared with those of Hiuen Tsang (629-645), it becomes clear that during the interval between the two pilgrims Buddhism had declined, while Brahminical Hinduism had advanced. The Gupta kings, who were officially Vaishnava Hindus, showed a wise tolerance for other creeds. Some of them, indeed, took a lively interest in Buddhist teaching. But, as the years rolled on, the influence of Buddhism slowly faded away, and that of orthodox Brahmins increased. That change was accompanied by a freer use of Sanskrit, the language of the Brahmins, in books and inscriptions, and by the disuse of the Prakrit dialects.

Harsha and Bāna. The revival of Hinduism, with the parallel decay of Buddhism, continued in the seventh century, during and after the reign of Harsha, who was a zealous patron of Sanskrit literature, although personally inclined to Buddhist doctrine. The king is the reputed author of a play called *Ratnāvalī* and other works. The most famous author of his day was his friend Bāna, who celebrated the deeds of his royal patron in the *Harshacharita.* The book is of high value as history, but the fantastic, involved style of the composition is annoying to most readers.

Kumārila-bhaṭṭa and Sankarāchārya. The Hindu reaction against Buddhism was carried further early in the eighth century by Kumārila-bhaṭṭa, an Assamese Brahmin, who taught the Mīmānsa philosophy, and is popularly supposed to have led an active persecution of Buddhists. The reality of the alleged persecution is doubtful. About a century later, Sankarāchārya, a Nāmbudri Brahmin of Malabar, taught a form of Vedantist philosophy which still has great vogue. He travelled throughout India and established many *maths*, or monasteries, several of which still exist, the principal one

being at Sringēri in Mysore. Professor Barnett observes that, 'the religious attitude of Sankara is summed up in a fine verse ascribed to him':

> Though difference be none, I am of Thee,
> Not thou, O Lord, of me;
> For of the Sea is verily the Wave,
> Not of the Wave the Sea.

Foreign trade in the early period. As we have seen, during the early period, India occupied an important international position among Eastern countries, and her intellectual and commercial influence spread far and wide. Even in the *Jātakas*, the Birth Stories of the Buddha, we hear of Indian traders going as far afield as Babylon. Broach, Kalyān, and other ports of Western India drove a thriving trade, especially in pepper, spices, and precious stones, with the Seleukid princes of Asia Minor, the Ptolemies of Egypt; and later with the Roman empire, by way of the great emporium of Alexandria. Great trade-routes intersected the country, one of them being the famous Royal Road of the Mauryas, which ran from the capital at Pātaliputra to the north-west frontier. Another one ran from Masulipatam through Paithan to Broach. Some of the most important of the regulations drawn up by Kautilya for the Emperor Chandragupta related to shipping, commerce, and the treatment of foreign merchants. Embassies from Indian courts proceeded from time to time to Rome. Great wealth poured into Southern and Western India in this manner. Pliny, writing in the first century A.D., says that over one million pounds annually went to the East in exchange for spices and other luxuries, and the hordes of Roman coins unearthed in Southern India corroborate this statement. The Buddhist merchants spent the wealth they acquired very liberally, and the cave temples at Kārlē, Kanheri, and other places, were to a great extent erected by means of their generous contributions.

Reign of Harshavardhana (Sīlāditya)

Accession	606	
Conflict with Pulakesin II	about 620	(Brahmagupta, astronomer, 628)
Assembly at Kanauj, almsgiving at Prayāg	643	(Hiuen Tsang, Chinese pilgrim)
Death	early in 647	(or late in 646)
Usurpation by Harsha's minister	647-8	

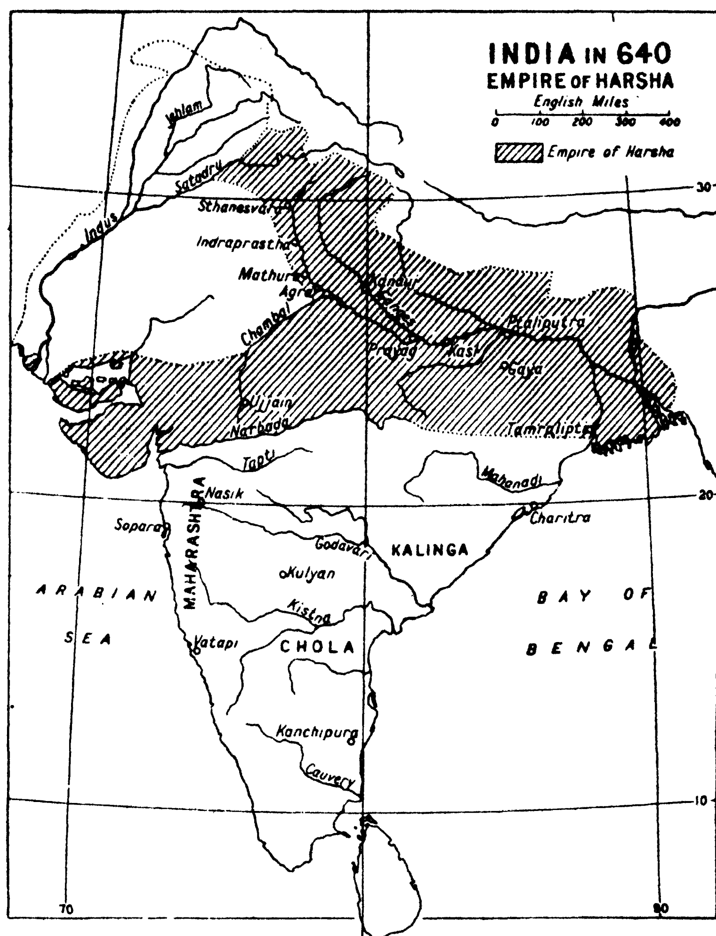
CHAPTER VIII

The Mohammedan conquest of Sind; the rise of the Rājpūts; some Rājpūt kingdoms

New grouping of powers after Harsha's death; the Rājpūt period. It is impossible to narrate in detail the histories of the many powers which emerged in India when the anarchy and disturbance consequent upon Harsha's death in 647 began to settle down. In some cases the story of a single dynasty would be enough to fill a volume. Most of the new states took shape during the eighth and ninth centuries under chiefs belonging to various Rājpūt clans, who claimed to be the successors of the Kshatriyas of ancient times. The whole period between the death of Harsha and the Mohammedan conquest of Hindustan at the close of the twelfth century, comprising about five and a half centuries, may be called the Rājpūt period. We must consider who the Rājpūts were, and how they come so much into view at this particular time. But in this chapter we shall confine our attention to the affairs of Northern India before the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

Mohammedan conquest of Sind. The new powers, as has been said, almost without exception were Rājpūt. The principal exception was Sind. An ancient Sūdra dynasty,

with its capital at Aror (Alor), had ruled the country from the Salt Range to the sea. In the seventh century the sceptre



passed into the hands of Chach, a Brahmin. But meantime the Arabs, full of enthusiasm for the Mohammedan religion, then just started on its victorious career, had occupied

Balōchistan (Makrān). In 712, under the command of a general named Mohammed, son of Kāsim,[1] they invaded Sind, slew the reigning king, Dāhir, son of Chach, and established a Moslem state which endured for centuries. The boundary between it, and India proper was the 'Lost River', the Hakrā (*ante*, p. 7). The Mohammedan occupation of Sind did not much affect interior India, and the serious Moslem attack on the countries east of the Indus did not occur until nearly three centuries later.

The rise of the Rājpūts. Most of the existing Rājpūt clans trace back their pedigrees to the eighth or ninth century, but no farther, and the reason seems to be that their ruling families became prominent about that time. Multitudes of foreign settlers, Hūnas, Gurjaras, and others, who had taken up their abode in the Panjāb and Rājputāna during the fifth and sixth centuries (*ante*, p. 67), became Hinduized in the course of two or three generations, and were then recognized as Hindu castes. War and government being the business of a Kshatriya, the chiefs and their kinsmen, when they adopted the Hindu *dharma*, or rule of life, were considered Kshatriyas, while the humbler folk took rank in castes of less degree.

How foreigners became Hinduized. Several causes made it easy for the new-comers to become Hindus quickly. The invaders must generally have arrived without their womankind. When they settled down in India they married Hindu wives, who naturally continued to follow their old customs which they taught to their children. The men, being far away from home, could not possibly keep up the mode of life to which they had been used in Turkistan. They thus readily dropped into the ways of their wives, children, and neighbours. In order to be a good Hindu it is not necessary to hold any particular creed. All that is needed is to follow the Indian *dharma*, or rule of life, which may be defined roughly as reverence for Brahmins, respect for the sanctity of cows, and

[1] Not 'Mohammed Kāsim'

scrupulous care about diet and marriage. In the course of a generation or two the descendants of the original invaders began to adopt the Hindu *dharma*, and so became Hindus. The Brahmins were then ready to find everybody a suitable place in the caste system. The ruling classes, as stated above, were treated as Kshatriyas, while the common people were recognized as castes included in either the Vaisya or the Sūdra group. The Central Asian tribes which entered India during the fifth and sixth centuries do not seem to have possessed any organized or well-defined religion of their own, which could hinder their acceptance of Hindu belief and practice.

Exactly the same process has often been observed going on in modern times. In the wilder parts of the country, multitudes of so-called 'aboriginal' tribes gradually slide into Hinduism, almost without knowing it. Superintendents of the census profess to distinguish among such tribes between Animists, or the worshippers of sundry spirits or demons, and Hindus, but in reality no line can be drawn separating the two, because the tribesmen continue to mix up 'animist' rites with the worship of the regular Hindu gods. Even after the lapse of many centuries it is still possible to trace 'Scythian' customs in the practice of high-caste Rājpūt clans.

Foreign origin of some clans. It has been proved that the Parihār Rājpūts of the present day are descended from the Gurjaras, who came into India as foreigners, and it is, of course, obvious that Gūjars are the same as Gurjaras. But the Parihārs count as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts because they were a ruling clan in ancient days, while the Gūjars, who represent the rank and file of the old Gurjaras, now form a large middle-class caste, much inferior in social standing to Rājpūts. There is reason to believe that many other famous Rājpūt clans originated in the same way from the ruling septs of foreign tribes.

Aboriginal origin of other clans. Another group of Rājpūt clans has been formed by the promotion of the so-called

'aborigines'. For instance, the famous Bais clan of Oudh is closely connected with and seems to be descended from the Bhars, who are now represented by a numerous caste of very low rank, and the Chandēls of Bundelkhand are similarly associated with the Gonds of the Central Provinces. While the Rājās and the kinsmen of Rājās of aboriginal blood are universally acknowledged to be Kshatriyas, the other members of the old tribes now form all sorts of lower-grade Hindu castes. Very often the clans of aboriginal origin had a standing feud with neighbours of foreign, or Scythian, origin, as the Chandēls had with the Parihārs, but, of course, this arrangement did not always hold good. Rājpūt clans of all sorts combined occasionally to resist the Mohammedans.

Kingdom of Kanauj or Panchāla. In 880 the most powerful state in Northern India was that of Panchāla or Kanauj, then ruled by Rājā Bhoja Parihār, whose Gurjara ancestors had been masters of a large kingdom in Rājputāna. At the beginning of the ninth century one of those princes occupied Kanauj and made it the capital of his dynasty. For fifty or sixty years after the middle of the ninth century the kings of Kanauj governed a dominion rivalling that of Harsha in extent. It included Kāthiāwār or Surāshtra, and extended from the boundary of Magadha (South Bihār) to the Sutlaj. Unluckily, hardly anything is known about Rājā Bhoja's method of government, or the state of the country in his time.

Pāla dynasty of Bengal. At the same time the so-called Pāla kings were lords of Bengal and Bihār and enjoyed great power. They were often at war with Kanauj, and early in the ninth century Dharmapāla was strong enough to depose a king of Kanauj and replace him by another. At that moment the Pāla sovereign was the most powerful monarch in Northern India.

Chandēl dynasty of Jejākabhukti. Another important kingdom was that of the Chandēls of Jejākabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand. The capital was Mahoba (now in the Hamīrpur

District) and the strong fortress of Kālanjar (now in the Bānda District) gave much importance to the Rājā. This kingdom, separated from that of Kanauj by the Jumna, was at the height of its grandeur in 1000.

Rājā Bhoja of Dhārā. Many more Rājpūt kingdoms, Gwalior, Chedi, and others, played a part in the history of the times, but are too numerous for mention. The learned Rājā Bhoja, of Dhārā in Mālwā, who was a Pawār Rājpūt, and reigned from about 1018 to 1060, must not be confounded with Rājā Bhoja Parihār of Kanauj mentioned above. Rājā Bhoja of Dhārā was a liberal patron of Sanskrit learning, and his name has become proverbial as that of the model king according to the Hindu standard.

CHAPTER IX

The kingdoms of the Deccan and the Far South

The Deccan and the Far South. Before proceeding to narrate the story of the Mohammedan conquest of the Panjāb we shall turn aside for a moment to bestow a passing glance on the kingdoms of the Deccan and the Far South, which, for the reasons explained in Chapter I (*ante*, p. 2), were rarely in touch with the north.

The Āndhras, and the Chalukyas of Vātāpi. The Āndhra dynasty (*ante*, p. 59) held the Deccan until about 236. The next dynasty of which we know anything substantial is that of the Chalukya Rājpūts, which established itself at Vātāpi (Bādāmi) in the Bijāpur District. The most notable prince of this line was Pulakesin II (608-42), who has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 69) as having successfully opposed the attempt made by Harsha to intrude on the south. His capital, probably then at or near Nāsik, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, in 641, who noted that the king was a Kshatriya by caste and that his people had a



ROCK-CUT KAILĀSA TEMPLE AT ELLORA, *c.* 760

high and warlike spirit. Pulakesin, relying on his brave soldiers and mighty elephants, received loyal service from his subjects and treated neighbouring countries with contempt. Learning was prized. The kingdom contained more than a hundred Buddhist monasteries with more than five thousand residents, but votaries of the Hindu gods were also numerous.

In the following year, 642, this proud monarch was humbled and deprived of his kingdom by the Pallava king of Kānchī (Conjeeveram). Thirteen years later the Chalukya line was restored, and lasted for a century longer. The kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengī between the Godāvarī and Kistna (Krishnā) rivers, an offshoot of the Western Chalukya monarchy, lasted for about four centuries from 615. In the end it became merged in the Chola kingdom of the south.

The Rāshtrakūtas. In the middle of the eighth century the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rāshtrakūtas, a Rājpūt dynasty of uncertain origin, whose capital, at first at Nāsik, was transferred to Mānyakheta, now Mālkhed, in the Nizām's Dominions. The Rāshtrakūta kings acquired great power, and were regarded as the leading princes in India by Mohammedan writers of the ninth and tenth centuries. In fact, Amoghavarsha, who reigned in the ninth century for more than sixty years, was reckoned to be the fourth among the great kings of the world, the other three being the Khalīf of Baghdad, the Emperor of China, and the Emperor of Constantinople (Rūm). The rank and power of the Rāshtrakūta prince were largely due to his immense wealth, acquired apparently by commerce. The members of his dynasty were always on the best of terms with the Arab rulers of Sind, with whom no doubt the Indian kingdom did profitable trade. The Gurjaras of Rājputāna and Kanauj, on the contrary, were as hostile to the Arabs as they were to the Rāshtrakūtas, who actually captured Kanauj in 916. Amoghavarsha was a great patron of the Digambara Jains.

The Chalukyas of Kalyāni. In 973 the Rāshtrakūtas had to give way to the second Chalukya dynasty of Kalyāni, which lasted for more than two centuries, and was engaged in constant wars with the neighbouring powers.

The Hoysala and Yādava dynasties. When Mohammedan armies entered the Deccan, at the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Mysore country was held by the Hoysala dynasty, and the western side of the



CARVING ON HOYSALA TEMPLE, HALEBID

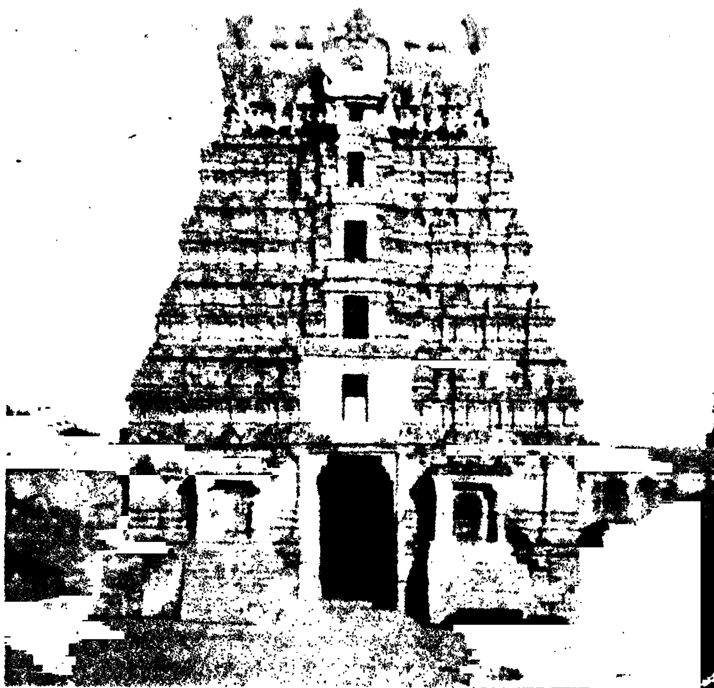
Deccan was under the rule of the Yādava kings of Deogiri. The Hoysala capital, Dorasamudra, was captured by Malik Kāfūr and Khwāja Hājī in 1310, and reduced to ruins by Mohammed bin Tughlak in 1327. Rāmachandra, the Yādava king, was forced to submit first to Alā-ud-dīn, and then to Malik Kāfūr, purchasing his life by payment of enormous treasures. His son Harapāla, who tried to shake off the foreign yoke, was defeated in 1318 by Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, who barbarously caused him to be flayed alive.

Religion. During the centuries summarily noticed in the preceding paragraphs, many changes occurred in the religious condition of the kingdoms on the Deccan table-land and in Mysore. Buddhism, which had never obtained very wide acceptance in Southern India, slowly declined, and can be hardly traced after the twelfth century. Jainism, which, according to tradition, had been introduced into Mysore in the days of Chandragupta Maurya, continued to be popular for many ages. As already observed, the religion of Mahāvīra was specially favoured by Amoghavarsha Rāshtrakūta in the ninth century. The conversion of Bittiga or Vishnu, Hoysala king of the twelfth century, from Jainism to Vishnuism, under the influence of the famous reformer Rāmānuja, testified to the growth of orthodox Hinduism, and contributed to the decay of Jain influence. We hear from time to time of fierce conflicts between the adherents of rival creeds, and occasionally of violent persecutions.

Art and literature. Some of the best paintings in the caves of Ajantā date from the time of the first Chalukya dynasty in the sixth and seventh centuries. The marvellous rock-cut Kailāsa temple at Ellora, one of the wonders of the world, was executed under the orders of Krishna I Rāshtrakūta, in the latter half of the eighth century. The rule of the Hoysala kings of Mysore is memorable for the erection during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of many magnificent Hindu temples, covered with elaborate ornament and adorned by multitudes of fine statues. Sanskrit literature was cultivated with success at many Rājās' courts, but no great original work of general fame was produced.

The three kingdoms of the Far South. From very ancient times the Far South, or Tamil Land (*Tamilakam*), was shared between three Dravidian kingdoms: (1) the Pāndya, corresponding with the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, (2) the Chera or Kerala, in the Malabar region, and (3) the Chola, on

the Madras or Coromandel coast.[1] These kingdoms kept up a brisk trade with the Roman empire in the early centuries of the Christian era, and possessed an advanced civilization of their own, with institutions quite different from those of the



GATEWAY OF HINDU TEMPLE, MADURA

Aryan north. Very little is known about their political history before the ninth century.

Chola supremacy. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Chola kingdom, under Rājarāja and his successors, became the

[1] The word Coromandel is a corruption of *Chola-maṇḍala*, 'Chola territory'.

leading power in the south, and maintained a strong fleet, which ventured across the Bay of Bengal and annexed Pegu. The Chola kings ordinarily were zealous devotees of Siva, and some of them are said to have cruelly persecuted the Jains. Such persecution seems to have had a good deal to do with the gradual decline of Jainism in Southern India. When the Mohammedans came, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the power of all the old Dravidian kingdoms had become much weakened. Even Madura, the Pāndya capital,



THE SEVEN PAGODAS

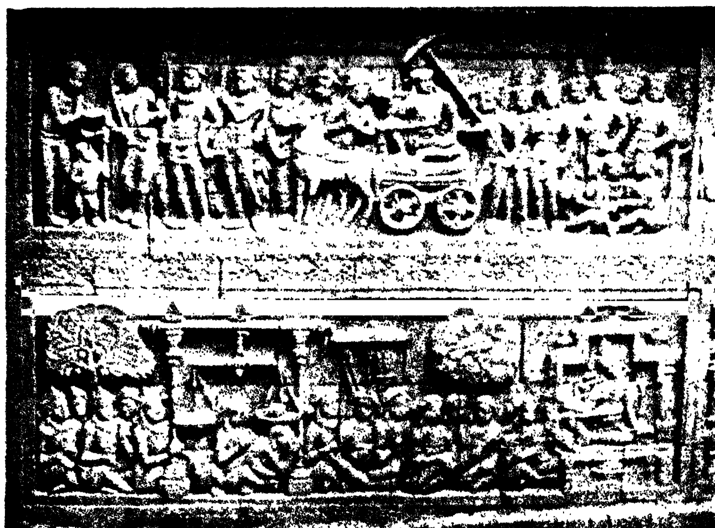
was held by Mohammedan governors from about 1311 to 1358. During the fourteenth century the new Hindu state of Vijayanagar arose and dominated the whole of the Far South until its fall in 1565.

The Pallavas. Between the fourth and eighth centuries the ancient Dravidian states were disturbed and overshadowed by an intrusive and vigorous dynasty of uncertain origin, the Pallavas, who made Kānchī (Conjeeveram) their capital, and attained the maximum of their power in the seventh century, when they destroyed Pulakesin II Chalukya, as already stated.

The Pallava kings were great patrons of art and architecture, and decorated their cities with many fine buildings.

King Narasimha Varman (625-45), the conqueror of the Chalukyas, founded the town of Mahābalipuram, and caused the beautiful rock-cut temples known as the Seven Pagodas to be executed.

Greater India. Indian culture spread far beyond the bounds of India itself. We have already spoken of the influence of Asoka's mission on Ceylon, and of the spread of Buddhism,



SCENES FROM BOROBUDUR, JAVA

by way of Khotan, to China in the time of the Kushān kings. From Ceylon, Buddhist missionaries went to Burma, where a great kingdom sprang up at Pegu under Anawarata in 1080. At the end of the seventh century, the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing found a flourishing Indian community at Srīvijaya (Palembang) in Sumatra. Java was colonized by Hindu settlers from Gujarāt in the seventh century. From 732 to 1250, most of Java and Sumatra was ruled by the powerful Sailendra dynasty, who built many Buddhist and

Hindu places of worship, including the wonderful *stūpa* of Borobudur or the twelve Buddhas. Another great dynasty ruled at Cambodia in Indo-China, and one of their kings founded a magnificent capital at Angkor; the temple at Angkor Vat is one of the wonders of the world.

CHAPTER X

The Mohammedan conquest of the Panjāb; Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī

Mohammedan invasion; Amīr Sabuktigīn. Towards the close of the tenth century the Hindu Rājpūt states of Northern India, which had enjoyed long immunity from foreign attack, were disturbed by the intrusion of Mohammedan invaders through the north-western passes. About 962, Alptigīn, a Turk, who had been a slave in the service of the Sāmāni king of Khurasan and Bukhāra, established himself in practical independence as master of a small principality with its capital at Ghaznī, between Kābul and Kandahār. When he died he was succeeded by his son Ishāk. After a few years, in 977, Sabuktigīn, who also had been a slave, became chief of Ghaznī, and, like his predecessors, bore the style of Amīr. Subsequently he received the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn from the Khalīfa.

Wars between Sabuktigīn and Jaipāl. In 986-7, Amīr Sabuktigīn began to make raids into the territory of Jaipāl, Rājā of the Panjāb, whose capital was at Bathindah, now in the Patiāla State. A year or two later the Indian king retaliated by invading the Ghaznī territory, but lost most of his army from the excessive cold, and was forced to purchase peace. Jaipāl, having broken the treaty, was promptly punished by a fresh invasion, in the course of which the Amīr reduced to subjection the Lamghān territory between Peshāwar and Kābul. Jaipāl then organized a great league of Hindu princes,

including the Rājās of distant Kanauj and Kālanjar, and made a final effort to save his country by leading the allied army of a hundred thousand men into the dominions of the Amīr. A fierce battle, probably fought somewhere in the Kurram valley, ended in the total rout of the Hindus. The invaders, eaters of meat, inured to war, and bound together by fierce religious fanaticism, were too much for the Hindus.

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī. In 997 (A.H. 387), the crown of the Amīr Sabuktigīn descended, after a short interval of dispute, to his famous son Mahmūd, then twenty-six years of age, the first Moslem chief who enjoyed the title of Sultān. Mahmūd, urged by religious zeal and love of plunder, vowed to carry on what he considered to be a 'holy war' against the idolaters of India, and to lead an expedition into that land each year. To the best of his ability he kept his vow, and, in pursuance of it, is computed to have made fifteen or, according to some authorities, seventeen expeditions of which the more important will now be noticed.

Defeat and death of Jaipāl, 1001. During the course of his second expedition the Sultān met Jaipāl on the plain near Peshāwar, on 27 November 1001, and utterly defeated him, taking him and his family prisoners. After a while the Rājā was released, but on return to his own country, committed suicide by fire, and Ānandpāl, his son, reigned in his stead. The Peshāwar territory was annexed by the Sultān.

Capture of Multān. Mahmūd's fourth expedition (A.H. 396 =1005-6) was directed against Multān, but before he captured that city the invader attacked Ānandpāl, 'stretching out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush'.

Rout of Ānandpāl and his son. The sixth expedition (A.H. 399=1008-9) was aimed specially against Ānandpāl, who, following his father's example, organized a league of the

Hindu powers, including the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālanjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmēr, and assembled a greater army than had ever taken the field against the Amīr Sabuktigīn. The hostile forces watched each other in the plain of Peshāwar for forty days, the Hindus meantime receiving reinforcements from the powerful Khokhar tribe. The Sultān was obliged to be cautious, and formed an entrenched camp. Thirty thousand Khokhars by a sudden rush stormed it, and in a few moments had slain three or four thousand Moslems. Victory seemed to be in the grasp of the Hindus, but at the critical moment, the elephant carrying Ānandpāl turned and fled.[1] The Indians, thinking this accident to be a signal of defeat, gave way and broke. The Moslem cavalry pursued them for two days and nights, killing eight thousand and capturing thirty elephants and enormous booty.

Capture of Kāngra. This decisive victory was followed up by the capitulation of the fort of Kāngra, also known as Nagarkot or Bhīmnagar, where treasure of immense value was taken. 'Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards, and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again.'

Expedition against Kanauj and Mathurā. One of the most celebrated of Sultān Mahmūd's raids was that which is reckoned as the twelfth, and had for its object the conquest of Kanauj, the imperial city of Northern India. The Sultān started from Ghaznī in October, passed all the rivers of the Panjāb, and crossed the Jumna on 2 December 1018. He captured the forts which obstructed his path, and was preparing to attack Baran, the modern Bulandshahr, when the local Rājā, Hardatt by name, tendered his submission, and

[1] Other authorities say that the Hindu leader was Brahmanpāl, son of Ānandpāl.

with ten thousand men accepted the religion of Islam. The holy and wealthy city of Mathurā having been taken, 'the Sultān gave orders that all the temples should be burned with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground'.

Conquest of Kanauj. In January 1019, the ever-victorious invader appeared before Kanauj. The Rājā, Rājyapāl Parihār, fled to the other side of the Ganges, and allowed his capital to be occupied without serious resistance. The seven forts, or lines of fortification guarding it fell in one day, and were given over to plunder. Rājyapāl submitted, and the city, as a whole, seems to have been spared, although the temples were destroyed, many of the inhabitants slain, and much plunder was acquired. Mahmūd then advanced through the Fatehpur District and entered the hills of Bundelkhand before he returned to Ghaznī at the beginning of the hot season.

Death of Rājyapāl. The submission of Rājyapāl to the foreigner angered the neighbouring Hindu princes, who, under the leadership of Vidyādhara, son of Ganda, the Chandēl Rājā of Kālanjar, and the chieftain of Gwalior, attacked Kanauj, and slew Rājyapāl. He was succeeded by Trilochanpāl.

The vengeance of the Sultān. Mahmūd, who regarded the king of Kanauj as his vassal, was furious when he heard the news and determined to punish the audacious Hindus. Again leaving Ghaznī in the autumn of 1019, he forced the passage of the Jumna in spite of the opposition of Trilochanpāl, and advanced into the territory of Ganda Chandēl, who had assembled a huge army. Even Mahmūd's stout heart quaked, and 'he regretted having come thither'. But during the night the courage of Ganda failed, and he shamefully stole away with a few followers, leaving his camp and five hundred and eighty elephants a prey to the Sultān, who, loaded with victory and success, returned to Ghaznī'. In 1021-2 Mahmūd once more entered the Chandēl dominions, and invested the

famous fortress of Kālañjar, now in the Bānda District, which was held by the Rājā. Again Ganda feared to fight, and was content to buy peace. The Sultān, laden as usual with 'immense riches and jewels, victoriously and triumphantly returned to Ghaznī'.

Expedition to Somnāth. The most adventurous of Mahmūd's expeditions was that against the shrine of Somnāth at Prabhāsa in the south of the Surāshtra peninsula. Starting from Ghaznī in the middle of December 1023 (10 Sha'bān, A.H. 414), and marching through difficult country by way of Multān, Ajmēr, and Anhilwāra in Gujarāt, he arrived at his destination in the beginning of March 1024 (middle of Zī-l-ka'da).[1] Overcoming a fierce resistance, he stormed the Hindu fortress which stood on the sea-shore and was washed by the waves. A dreadful slaughter followed, the magnificent temple was laid low, and the sacred *lingam*, one of the twelve most holy ones in India, was smashed, parts of it being taken to Ghaznī, and cast down at the threshold of the great mosque to be trodden underfoot. The gates now lying in the Agra Fort, brought from Ghaznī in 1842 as being those of the temple of Somnāth and made the subject of a silly proclamation by Lord Ellenborough, are Moslem work and never came from a Hindu temple. The Sultān's army suffered severely on its return march through the Sind desert, but enjoyed compensation in the vast treasure plundered from the shrine, which was estimated to exceed two millions of *dīnārs*.

Death of Sultān Mahmūd: his patronage of scholars. The last of Mahmūd's Indian expeditions took place in 1027, when he attacked the Jats near Multān, and is said to have fought them on the rivers with a fleet of boats constructed for the purpose. During the rest of his life he was occupied

[1] According to other authorities Mahmūd left Ghaznī in 1024, and sacked Somnāth in the beginning of 1025. The exact chronology of the early Mohammedan history of India is not easy to settle.

with troubles at home. He died in April 1030 (A.H. 421). Sultān Mahmūd is famous for the magnificence of his court and buildings and for his patronage of numerous Persian poets, especially Unsari and Firdausi, although it is true that the latter, the author of the epic poem called *Shāhnāma*, did not consider himself well treated by the Sultān, whom he accused of avarice. Alberūnī, a mathematician and astronomer of profound learning, accompanied Mahmūd to India, and wrote in Arabic a valuable account of the country and its institutions, which he completed in the year of his patron's death.

Destruction of Ghaznī. The wars and dynastic troubles in the kingdom of Ghaznī which followed on the death of Mahmūd do not concern India and need not be related. It will suffice to say that the cruelties practised by Bahrām, one of his successors, on a chieftain of Ghor, an obscure principality in the mountains to the south-east of Herat, were terribly avenged by that chieftain's brother, Alā-ud-dīn Husain, who, in 1150 (A.H. 544), sacked Ghaznī for seven days and nights and destroyed all its splendid buildings, except the tombs of Sultān Mahmūd and two of his descendants.

The province of Lahore. This disaster did not immediately deprive the dynasty of Ghaznī of the Indian province of Lahore, or the Panjāb, which had been annexed by Sultān Mahmūd. Khusrū Malik, the last prince of the house of Sabuktigīn, a weak and pleasure-loving man, retained possession of Lahore until 1186 or 1187 (A.H. 582 or 583), when he was expelled by Shihāb-ud-dīn, the Ghorī, otherwise called Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn Mohammed, son of Sām. Khusrū Malik was shut up in a fortress and put to death fifteen or sixteen years later. The student should remember that the province of Lahore was the sole permanent possession in India acquired by Mahmūd, who made no attempt to hold the regions in the interior which he overran in the course of his raids.

Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni

Accession		997 or 998
Defeat of Jaipāl		1001
Defeat of Ānandpāl		1005-6
Defeat of Brahmanpāl (or Ānandpāl)		1008-9
Capture of Kanauj	Jan.	1019
Rout of Gande Chandēl		1020
Somnāth expedition		1024 or 1025
Last Indian expedition		1027
Death		1030 (Alberūnī)

CHAPTER XI

Hindu civilization on the eve of the Mohammedan rule in Hindustan

Survival of the Hindu kingdoms. The forays of Sultān Mahmūd, destructive though they were of life and property, did not shatter the Hindu kingdoms of the interior, which survived the passing storms, and were left free to conduct their affairs in their own fashion The Panjāb alone had become a Mohammedan province. So far as appears, no considerable body of foreigners settled in India, excepting Sind and the Panjāb, for about six centuries, from 600 to 1200, in round numbers. The serious efforts of the Moslems to establish a permanent Indian dominion did not begin until the closing years of the twelfth century.

Great Hindu powers of the twelfth century. At that time the great Hindu powers of Northern India were no longer the same as they had been in the tenth century (*ante*, p. 80), and may be named as (1) the Gaharwārs of Kanauj, (2) the Tomaras of Delhi, (3) the Chauhāns of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr, (4) the Pālas and Senas of Bihār and Bengal, and (5) the

Bāghelas of Gujarāt. Of course, there were plenty of other kingdoms, but those mentioned were the principal.

The Gaharwārs of Kanauj. The Parihār dynasty of Kanauj was ruined by Mahmūd, and soon faded into obscurity. Towards the end of the eleventh century another Rājpūt clan of ‘ aboriginal ’ origin, the Gaharwārs, afterwards known as Rāthōrs, occupied Kanauj and founded a new dynasty, which attained considerable power under Govindachandra and his successors during the twelfth century. Rājā Jaichand (Jayachchandra), the last of them, famed in song and legend, who fell in the struggle with the Moslems, was the grandson of Govindachandra.

The Tomaras of Delhi. Delhi, including under that name a series of cities built under different names by many kings, but excluding the legendary Indraprastha of the Mahābhārata, is one of the most modern of Indian capitals, and, according to the best authority, was not founded till 993. Ānangapāla, a Tomara chief in the middle of the eleventh century, was the first prince to beautify the newly-founded city with handsome buildings. He erected a group of twenty-seven fine temples, from the materials of which the Kutb mosque was built a century and a half later, and set up beside them the famous and ancient iron pillar, which was removed from its original position, perhaps at Mathurā. Ānangapāla and his successors made Delhi the centre of a kingdom of moderate extent. The common belief that the Tomaras also held Kanauj is an error.

The Chauhāns of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr. After about a century of Tomara rule, Delhi was unsuccessfully attacked by Vigraharāja IV, the Chauhān Rājā of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr in Rājputāna, a prince of much distinction. His nephew was the famous Prithirāj, who distinguished himself by carrying off the daughter of Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj about 1175, by defeating Parmāl, the Chandēl Rājā of Mahoba in 1182, and finally by his gallant leadership of the Hindu

host against the Mohammedans a few years later. Most historians state that the mother of Prithirāj was a daughter of Ānangapāla, Rājā of Delhi, but she seems really to have been a princess of the Chedi kingdom in the south.

The Pālas of Bengal and Bihār. Harsha, when at the height of his power, appears to have enjoyed full dominion over Western and Central Bengal. After his death in 647, that country, like the rest of his empire, fell into disorder. Very little is known about its history for nearly a century. About 730 or 740, the people of Central Bengal established order by electing as their king one Gopāla, the first of the dynasty known to history as the Pālas. Towards the end of a long reign he annexed South Bihār. The second king Dharmapāla, and the third, Devapāla, whose reigns covered about a century, raised Bengal to the rank of one of the great powers of India. We have seen (*ante*, p. 80) how Dharmapāla was able to pull down one king of Kanauj and set up another in his place. All the members of the dynasty were devoted adherents of Buddhism in its later forms. Early in the eleventh century, two kings, Mahīpāla I and Nayapāla, were zealous enough to send missionaries to Tibet in order to revive Buddhism in that country. The last powerful king of the line was Rāmapāla (about 1084-1130), who conquered Tirhūt or North Bihār. The Pālas, after enduring the ups and downs of fortune for about four centuries and a half, were finally uprooted by the Mohammedan conquest in 1197.

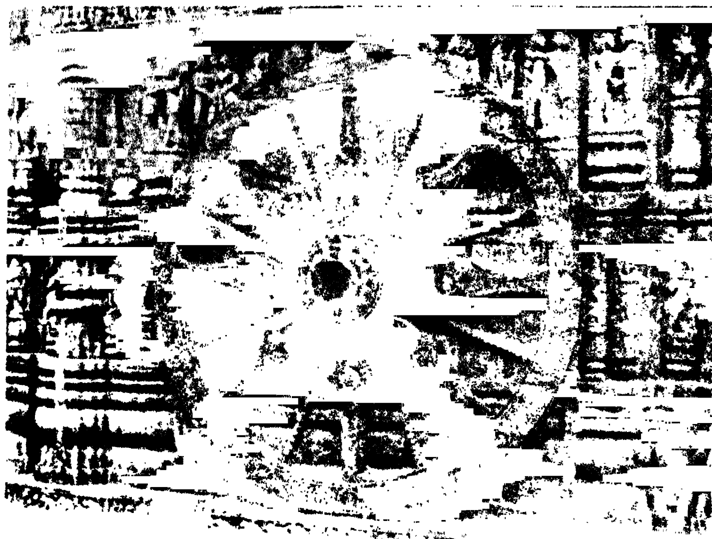
The Senas of Eastern Bengal. In the first quarter of the twelfth century the greater part of Bengal was formed into a separate kingdom by Vijayasena, whose successors are known as the Sena kings. The Senas greatly reduced the power of the Pālas, who, however, usually retained possession of South Bihār and sometimes held North Bihār or Tirhūt. At the time of the Mohammedan conquest in 1197-1200, the Pāla capital appears to have been either Monghyr (Mungir) or the town of Bihār, while the Sena capital was at Nūdīah

(Nuddea, Navadvīpa), in Bengal. The Senas were orthodox Hindus. Ballāla Sena is famous in the traditions of Bengal as the king who is believed to have introduced the system of caste rules known as 'Kulinism' among the Brahmins, Baidyas, and Kāyasths. After the Mohammedan conquest Sena princes continued to rule Eastern Bengal from Bikrampur near Dacca.

The Bāghelas of Gujarāt. During the twelfth century the kingdom of Gujarāt attained to great power under the rule of the Chalukya or Solankī kings, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, and it is even alleged that the authority of the latter extended as far east as the Ganges. Towards the end of the same century the throne passed from the Chalukyas to a Bāghela dynasty. Rājā Vīradhavala of that dynasty was strong enough to repel an attack on his country led by Mohammed of Ghor, defeating the Moslems with great slaughter.

General condition ; architecture ; literature. The states above described were independent one of another, frequently at war, and not subject to any controlling power. They rarely could combine, and when a confederacy was formed in a desperate emergency, it was loosely held together and easily dissolved. Many of the Rājās' courts were splendidly appointed, and in the principal cities handsome buildings were numerous. The Pālas were the only considerable princes who continued to profess and support Buddhism ; in all other provinces either Jainism or Hinduism prevailed, and the doctrine of Buddha was little regarded. The Buddhist buildings of the Pāla dynasty in Bihār have nearly all been destroyed, but many Hindu and Jain temples of the period survive elsewhere. The beauty of the Jain temples of Mount Ābū, built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is unsurpassed, and the Hindu temples erected by the Chandēl kings at Khajurāho, a little before and after 1000, are among the best examples of Indian architecture. The venerated

temple of Jagannāth at Puri in Orissa, built by order of Anantavarman Cholaganga in the closing years of the eleventh century, is inferior in merit as a work of art. In the ninth century, during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, two Bengal artists, Dhīmān and his son Bitpālo; or Vitapāla, attained high fame as painters, sculptors, and bronze-founders.



THE GREAT WHEEL, KONARAK

Literature was encouraged by many Rājās. For instance, Rājasekhara, the dramatist, graced the court of two Parihār kings of Kanauj ; Bhoja Pawār of Dhārā, himself an author, was always surrounded by a crowd of scholars ; and Vīsaladeva, the Tomara ruler of Delhi, both produced and patronized poetry. Kalhana, who wrote the *Rājataranginī*, a Sanskrit metrical chronicle of Kashmīr, in 1149, was the son of a minister at the Srīnagar court. The *Gītā Govinda* of Jayadeva was composed shortly before the Moslem conquest of Bengal.

The foundations of literature in the Indian languages were laid during this period by the bards, among whom may be mentioned Chand Bardāi, the author of the *Chand Rāisā*, an epic in ancient dialects of Hindī, dealing with the exploits of Prithirāj and other chieftains. The poem, in the shape generally known, has been immensely expanded by later additions. The manuscript of the work in its original form is said to be still preserved in the Jodhpur State.

BOOK III

MEDIAEVAL INDIA FROM 1193 TO 1526: THE SULTĀNATE OF DELHI

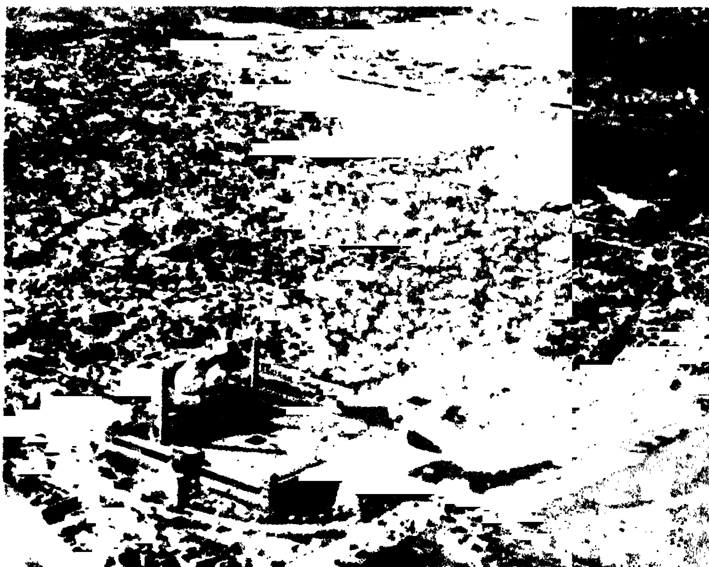
CHAPTER XII

Mohammed of Ghor (Ghorī): conquest of Hindustan, Bengal, and Bihār; Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak; the Sultānate of Delhi; the Mongol (Mogul) invasions; end of the Slave Kings

Mohammed of Ghor (Mohammed Ghorī, Shihāb-ud-dīn). Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Husain, the destroyer of Ghaznī, died about four years after the sack of that city (*ante*, p. 94), and was succeeded in Ghor by his son, who was assassinated a year later. The local nobles then raised to the throne the murdered chief's cousin, elder son of Bahā-ud-dīn Sām, who assumed the title of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn. His younger brother, Mohammed, was known in early life as Shihāb-ud-dīn ('the flame of religion'), but afterwards as Sultān Muizz-ud-dīn. His coins also describe him as Mohammed son of Sām. The historians of India are accustomed to designate him, with various corruptions, either as Shihāb-ud-dīn or Mohammed Ghorī. We shall call him Mohammed of Ghor.

Occupation of Sind and the Panjāb. Mohammed of Ghor, having reduced Ghaznī to the will of his brother, turned his attention to the rich plains of India. In 1175-6 he attacked Multān, and shortly afterwards obtained possession of Ūchh in Sind through the treachery of the Rānī. In 1178-9 Mohammed attempted to penetrate into Gujarāt, but was badly defeated by the Rājā of Anhilwāra. In 1186 or 1187, as already mentioned (*ante*, p. 94), he deposed Khusrū Malik, the last prince of the house of Sabuktigīn, and so made himself master of the Panjāb, as well as of Sind.

First and second battles of Tarāīn. But the ambition of Mohammed was not satisfied by the possession of these frontier provinces. He desired to enjoy the plunder and acquire the sovereignty of the richer kingdoms of the interior. The Hindu Rājās combined against him, as they had done against the Amīr Sabuktigīn and the Sultān Mahmūd, and met the invader on the plain of Tarāīn or Talāwarī, fourteen



OLD DELHI

miles from Thānēsar. The Hindus, under the supreme command of the brave Prithirāj Chauhān, Rājā of Ajmēr and Delhi (*ante*, p. 96), routed the Sultān, who was wounded in the arm (1191). Next year, 1192, the Sultān returned, fought the Hindu confederacy on the same ground, charged the enemy with twelve thousand picked cavalry, utterly defeated them, and captured the commander-in-chief,

Prithirāj, who was executed. Ajmēr was sacked and the inhabitants either killed or sold as slaves.

Reduction of Hindustan. In the years following, 1193 and 1194 (A.H. 589, 590), Delhi, Benares, and other places fell before the resistless invader. In 1196 Gwalior surrendered. In 1197, Anhilwāra, which had baffled the Moslem arms nearly twenty years before, was taken, and in 1203 the capitulation of Kālanjar, the strong fortress of the Chandēls, completed the reduction of Upper India. The Gaharwār Rājpūts of Kanauj migrated to Mārwār in Rājputāna, where they became known as Rāthōrs and founded the Jodhpur State. Many similar movements of Rājpūt clans occurred about the same time in order to escape from the armies of Islam.

Death of the Sultān. After these momentous events the Sultān, who had succeeded his brother early in 1203, returned to Ghaznī, but in the cold season of 1205 was recalled to India by the revolt of the Khokhars, a powerful tribe in the Central Panjāb. Having 'set a river of blood of those people flowing', he started for Ghaznī, and was murdered on the road by a fanatic of the Mulāhidah sect in March 1206:

The martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Muizz-ud-dīn,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third of the month Sha'bān in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghaznī at the halting-place of Damyak.[1] [Dhamiāk in Jihlam (Jhelum) District.]

Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak as general and viceroy. The successes gained in India by the arms of Mohammed of Ghor were largely due to the ability of his general, Malik Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak, a native of Turkistan, who had been bought as a slave

[1] *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri.* This account by a contemporary should be accepted, not that which appears in Elphinstone and the text-books. The Khokhars usually are miscalled 'Gakkars' who were a totally different tribe in the Salt Range.

by the Sultān, and was still legally a slave when he subdued Hindustan. He led the vanguard in the action of Chandwār near Itāwa, when Rājā Jaichand of Kanauj was killed by an arrow which struck him in the eye. He then pushed on to Benares and acquired a vast amount of booty. The Sultān having returned to Ghaznī, Kutb-ud-dīn was left in charge of the operations in India. The capture of Kālanjar was his

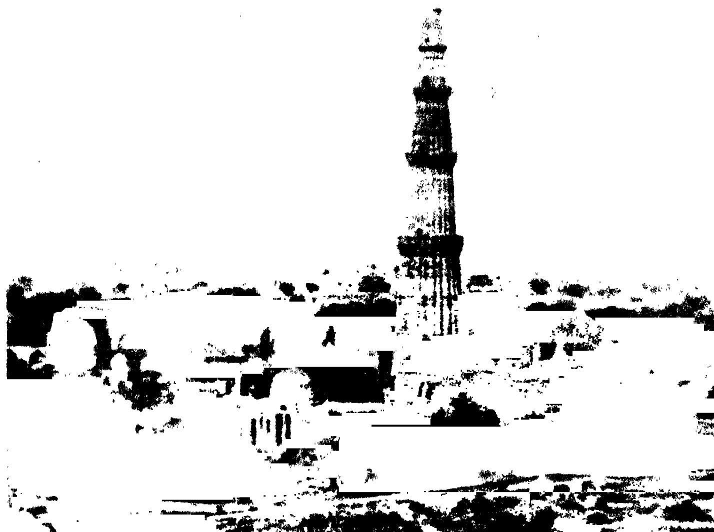


TOMB OF ALTAMSH

work, and on that occasion fifty thousand captives were enslaved. He next occupied Mahoba, the Chandēl capital (*ante*, p. 80), and thence returned to Delhi through Budaon. He received the title of Sultān from Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the successor of Mohammed of Ghor on the throne of Ghor and Ghaznī.

Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak as Sultān of Delhi. From this time (1206) Kutb-ud-dīn may be regarded as an independent

Indian sovereign, the first of the long line of the Sultāns of Delhi. He strengthened his position by judicious matrimonial alliances, himself marrying the daughter of Tāj-ud-dīn Yalduz (Iyaldūz), a rival chief, who, like Kutb-ud-dīn, had been a slave; giving his sister to Nāsir-ud-dīn Kubācha, another slave, who became the lord of Sind; and his daughter to Īltutmish (Altamsh), governor of Bihār, and also a slave.



KUTB MĪNĀR

He died in the year A.H. 607 (1210-11) from the effects of a fall from his horse. 'His gifts', says the chronicler, 'were bestowed by hundreds of thousands, and his slaughters likewise were by hundreds of thousands.'

The Kutbī mosque and mīnār. During the period of his viceroyalty, between the years 1193 and 1198, Kutb-ud-dīn built the great mosque near Delhi, which was subsequently enlarged by his son-in-law, the Sultān Īltutmish (Altamsh),

who also finished the celebrated tower known as the Kutb Mīnār. Both mosque and mīnār are called Kutbī, not because they were built by Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak, but because they are consecrated to the memory of the saint Kutb-ud-dīn Ūshi, who lies buried close by.

Conquest of Bihār. Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak was well served by his lieutenant, Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Mohammed, son of Bakhtyār, a Khalj Turk, who is ordinarily called in the text-books 'Mohammed Bakhtiyār', father and son being rolled into one. In or about 1197, several years after the fall of Delhi, this officer secured the control of Bihār by a raid of almost incredible audacity, seizing the fort of the town of Bihār with a party of only two hundred horsemen. The Buddhist monasteries, which still flourished under the patronage of the Pāla kings (*ante*, p. 96), were destroyed, and the monks killed or dispersed. The Mohammedan onslaught extinguished the life of Buddhism in its old home and last refuge. After this time the indications of the existence of that religion anywhere in India are very slight.

Conquest of Bengal. Bengal was brought under Moslem domination about two years later (? 1199) with even greater ease. The Sena king, perhaps Rājā Lakhmaniya or Lakshmana Sena, surprised in his capital of Nūdīah (Nuddea, Navadvīpa) by a party of only eighteen horsemen, fled by the back door and took refuge in the Dacca District, leaving Nūdīah to the fury of the conqueror, who sacked the town and made Lakhnautī or Gaur the seat of his government. Mohammed and his officers endowed mosques, colleges, and Mohammedan monasteries in all parts of the kingdom, and sent much booty to their chief, Kutb-ud-dīn.

Death of Mohammed, son of Bakhtyār. Some years later, in 1204-5 (A.H. 601), Mohammed, the son of Bakhtyār, rashly undertook to invade the mountains. He managed to enter those beyond Darjeeling, but, being unable to secure any safe foothold, was compelled to retreat. During the

retirement he lost almost all his force. Next year he was assassinated.

The so-called Pathān dynasties' and 'Pathān empire'. The Sultāns of Delhi, beginning with Kutb-ud-dīn in 1206, ending with Ibrāhīm Lodī in 1526, and including the Sūr claimants up to 1556, are often erroneously called the 'Pathān kings', and their rule is designated the 'Pathān empire'. But, as a matter of fact, only the Sultāns of the Lodī and Sūr families were Pathāns (properly Paṭāns), that is to say, Afghans. Kutb-ud-dīn and the other so-called Slave Kings were natives of Turkistan, of Turkish blood. The Sultāns of the Khiljī (Khaljī) dynasty also were Turks. The Tughlak Sultāns seem to have been of mixed Turkish and Hindu blood, and the so-called Saiyid princes claimed Arab descent from the prophet Mohammed.

Sultān Īltutmish (Altamsh). Ārām, the adopted son of Kutb-ud-dīn, succeeded him, but proved incapable, and was soon replaced (1211) by Shams-ud-dīn Īltutmish (Altamsh, etc., of the text-books), governor of Bihāṛ. The new Sultān had to fight and overcome his brother slaves Tāj-ud-dīn Yalduz (Iyaldūz) and Nāsir-ud-dīn Kubācha. He compelled the successors of Mohammed, the son of Bakhtyār, in Bengal to acknowledge his authority. After some more fighting in various directions Īltutmish died in May 1236, and was buried beside the mosque which he had enlarged and the mīnār which he had completed at Delhi.

Sultān Razīyah (Raziyyat-ud-dīn). Rukn-ud-dīn, son of Īltutmish, a worthless fellow, 'whose inclinations were wholly towards buffoonery, sensuality, and diversion', was deposed after seven months of misrule, his place being taken by his sister Raziyyat-ud-dīn, commonly called Razīyah, a capable sovereign, whose chief fault seems to have been her sex. 'Sultān Raziyyat—may she rest in peace!—was a great sovereign, and sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects,

and of warlike talent, and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings; but, as she did not attain the destiny in her creation of being computed among men, of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications unto her?' She tried to secure her throne by submitting to marriage with a turbulent Turkī chief, but other nobles, who would not endure a woman's rule, defeated her in October 1240, after a disturbed reign of three and a half years. She and her husband were killed by certain Hindus.

Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd. She was followed by two insignificant princes, and in 1246 Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, one of her brothers, became Sultān of Delhi. He was a quiet, studious man, ill-fitted for rule in such times, but managed to retain his throne for twenty years by the help of an able slave minister, Ulugh Khān, otherwise called Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, whose daughter was married to the Sultān, and who fought hard throughout his master's reign to establish the Moslem supremacy in Hindustan. The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, a valuable history by Minhaj-i-Siraj, the chief Kāzi, was written in this reign and derives its name from the Sultān. Some quotations from it are made in this work.

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban. 'Balban, being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title.' He was nearly sixty years of age when he ascended the throne, but age had not quenched his vigour. He proved himself to be a strong ruler, severe and even cruel in his punishments, and utterly regardless of bloodshed. The Mewātīs near Delhi gave him much trouble, and were chastised with merciless ferocity. His principal military operation was the suppression of a revolt in Bengal. His court was adorned by many princely fugitives from various kingdoms of Asia then devastated by the Mongol hordes, and he was a liberal patron of Persian literature, and especially of Amīr Khusrū, the poet.

The Mongols or Moguls.[1] A young Mongol chief named Temujin, born in 1162, gradually acquired supreme power among the nomads of the steppes, and was elected as their sovereign with the title of Chingiz Khān, by which (with various corruptions) he is generally known. Having made himself master of Mongolia, Northern China, and Turkistan, he fell with his savage hordes upon the kingdom of Khwārizm (Khiva), sacked Bukhāra, Samarkand, Merv, and other cities, destroying the inhabitants by millions. The murderous conqueror and his generals then overran the country now called Afghanistan, sacked what remained of Ghaznī, stormed Herat, and even occupied Peshāwar. Jalāl-ud-dīn, the Shah of Khwārizm, who had fled before the Khān, attempted to make a stand on the Indus, but was defeated, and fled to Delhi, where he was received by the Sultān (1221, 1222). The Khān thought of returning to Mongolia through India and Tibet, and even asked the permission of Sultān Iltutmish to do so, but happily desisted from his purpose, so that India was spared the unspeakable horrors which befell Central Asia, and from the effects of which those regions have never recovered. Raids by bodies of Mongol troops long continued, and gave much anxiety to the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, whose eldest son was killed in battle with them. The death of this son, who became known as the Martyr Prince, deeply affected Balban, then about eighty years of age, and hastened his end. On the west the Mongol hordes penetrated into Europe as far as the Dnieper in Russia.

[1] Mongol (or, more strictly, Monggol) and Mogul (Mughal, etc.) really are only different forms of the same word, the nasalized *g* being represented in Arabic by *ghain*. But it is convenient and desirable for a historian of India to apply the term Mongol to the 'narrow-eyed' and heathen nomads who formed the bulk of the hordes led by Chinghiz Khān, and to restrict the term Mogul to the section of the Mohammedan Turks represented by Bābur and his successors. The Turks and Mongols often associated and intermarried, and Bābur himself, a Turk on the father's side, was of Mongol descent on the mother's side. The Turks resemble Europeans (Aryans) in physique, and are not 'narrow-eyed'.

Sultān Kaikobād ; end of Slave Kings. When Balban died in 1287 he was succeeded on the throne of Delhi by his grandson Kaikobād (Muizz-ud-dīn), a good-for-nothing, debauched youth. Some Turkish chiefs of the Khalj or Khiljī tribe put him out of the way, and raised to the throne one of themselves, by name Jalāl-ud-dīn. Thus ended in (A.H. 689) 1290[1] the dynasty of the Turkish Slave-Sultāns of Delhi, which had begun with Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak in 1206.

Mohammedan Conquest of Hindustan

Sultān Mohammed of Ghor (Ghorī, Shihāb-ud-dīn, Muizz-ud-dīn)	
Occupied Ūchh in Sind	1175-6
Defeated by Rājā of Gujarāt	1178-9
Deposed Khusrū Malik of Lahore	1186 or 1187
First battle of Tarāīn	1191
Second battle of Tarāīn	1192
Reduction of Delhi, Benares and Bihār	1193-7
Capture of Anhilwāra	1197
Conquest of Bengal	1199 or 1200
Capture of Kālanjar	1203
Death of the Sultān	1206

The Sultāns of Delhi

The Slave Kings

Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak	acc. 1206 (mosque at Delhi)
Ārām Shah	acc. 1211
Īltutmish (Altamsh)	acc. 1211 (Mongol invasion, 1221, 1222)
Rukn-ud-dīn and Razīyah	acc. 1236
Bahrām, etc.	acc. 1240

[1] Elphinstone's date, 1288 = A.H. 687, as given by Firishtah, is erroneous.

Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd	acc. 1246 (*Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*)
Balban (Ghiyās-ud-dīn)	acc. 1266
Kaikobād (Muizz-ud-dīn)	acc. 1286 or 1287
	killed 1290

CHAPTER XIII

The Khilijī Sultāns of Delhi: Alā-ud-dīn; the Tughlak dynasty

Jalāl-ud-dīn Khiljī. Sultān Jalāl-ud-dīn was an old man seventy years of age when he was called to undertake the rule of Hindustan. A famine occurred in 1291, of such severity that the historian records that multitudes of Hindus, 'from excess of hunger and want', drowned themselves in the Jumna. Jalāl-ud-dīn conducted an indecisive campaign in Mālwā, and, like his predecessors, had to defend his realm against incursions of the Mongols (Moguls of the Mohammedan writers). His forces repelled them from Lahore, and three thousand of the nomads, who surrendered, became Mohammedans and entered the service of the Sultān, who allotted them for residence a suburb of Delhi, thence called Mogulpur. Jalāl-ud-dīn, being far advanced in years, left most of the fighting to be done by his brother's son, Alā-ud-dīn, who was also his son-in-law.

Expedition of Alā-ud-dīn to the Deccan. The first attack by the armies of Islam on the countries to the south of the Narbadā was made in 1294 by Alā-ud-dīn, who marched seven hundred miles into Berār and Khāndesh, and compelled Rājā Rāmachandra Deva, the Yādava ruler of Deogiri and the Western Deccan (*ante*, p. 84), to surrender Elichpur with its dependencies. Immense booty was brought to Delhi.

Murder of Jalāl-ud-dīn. Alā-ud-dīn was on bad terms with his wife, the daughter of the Sultān, as well as with her mother, and this domestic feud may have influenced him in his treachery to his uncle, who trusted him blindly, and would

listen to no warnings. However that may be, the old man was persuaded to place himself in the power of Alā-ud-dīn at Karā in the Allahabad District during the month of Ramazān, A.H. 695 (July 1296), and was there foully murdered as he clasped his nephew's hand.

Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī. The army, won over 'by the hope of the red gold' which Alā-ud-dīn distributed lavishly, condoned the crime and accepted the murderer as Sultān. The sons and various relatives and adherents of the old monarch were massacred, and the usurper's throne thus secured. During his reign the Mongols entered India no less than five times, but were always repulsed. The last repulse in 1303, when they threatened Delhi, was so effectual that 'from that day the Moguls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustan, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted'. Alā-ud-dīn found the Mongol converts to Islam troublesome, and had a general massacre of them carried out under secret orders on a fixed day in 1297. He captured the strong fortresses of Ranthambhor and Chitor in Rājputāna.

Malik Kāfūr's conquest of the south. The most notable events of the reign were the campaigns conducted in the south by Malik Kāfūr, a slave eunuch high in the Sultān's favour. During the many ages since the time of Samudragupta no northern army seems to have entered the south, except that led into Khāndesh and Berār by Alā-ud-dīn in 1294, during his uncle's reign. These southern campaigns lasted from 1302 to 1311, and in the course of his operations Malik Kāfūr overran the Yādava kingdom of Deogiri, the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore (Dorasamudra), and the Tamil states of the Far South (*ante*, p. 85). Moslem governors were established on the Madras, or Coromandel coast. The southern currency was then exclusively in gold, of which metal enormous treasures were brought to the capital.

Buildings at Delhi. The Sultān employed the wealth thus gained in extensive building operations at Delhi, where he

formed a new city called Sīrī, enlarged the Kutbī mosque, and erected a noble gateway. The savagery of the times is illustrated by the remark of Amīr Khusrū, concerning the new fortress at Delhi : 'It is a condition that in a new building blood should be sprinkled ; he therefore sacrificed some thousands of goat-bearded Moguls for the purpose.' He began a huge mīnār intended to outshine the creation of Iltutmish, but the work was soon stopped.

Death and character of Alā-ud-dīn. Towards the close of his reign the Sultān's health was impaired, and he became the prey of unjust suspicions of others, while placing implicit confidence in the eunuch Kāfūr, who is suspected of having hastened his end. He died in January 1315. Alā-ud-dīn was a fierce despot of the Central Asian type—illiterate, arrogant, fanatical, cruel, and sanguinary. He was an able general, and, in times when Sultāns were not expected to be merciful, was reputed a capable sovereign. He liked to be considered a 'second Alexander', and used that title in his coin legends. His internal policy was characterized by many arbitrary and vexatious regulations, which died with him. As regards the Hindus, the bulk of his subjects, his policy was to 'grind them down' and reduce them to poverty.

Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak. Malik Kāfūr tried to retain power by placing on the throne an infant son of the deceased Sultān, but the minister was promptly assassinated, and an adult son of Alā-ud-dīn's, by name Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak, was made Sultān. At first he showed some energy, marching into the Deccan and defeating Harapāla, the Yādava Rājā of Deogiri, whom he cruelly flayed alive. On his return he gave himself up to filthy sensuality, and allowed a low-born Hindu convert, Khusrū Khān, to mismanage state affairs. In 1320 this minister murdered his worthless master and seized the throne He tried to organize a Hindu reaction during his brief tenure of power, but had not the personal qualities deserving of success. Four months later he paid the penalty of his ill

deeds, and was himself killed by Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūnā Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān (or Malik or Beg) Tughlak, governor of the Panjāb. Ghāzī Khān was invited by the nobles to assume the royal power, and, in 1320 (A.H. 720), became Sultān under the style of Ghiyās-ud-dīn.

The Tughlak dynasty ; Ghiyās-ud-dīn. The new sovereign is said to have been the son of a Turk slave of the Sultān Balban by a Hindu Jat mother. Certainly he was not a 'Pathān'. During his reign of four years he won a good reputation as an administrator, and reduced to a certain



TOMB OF TUGHLAK SHAH

amount of obedience the Mohammedan princes who then ruled Bengal and Eastern Bengal in practical independence. In February 1325 (A.H. 725), he was killed by the fall of a pavilion erected for his reception by his son Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūnā. There is good reason for believing that the 'accident' was caused intentionally.

Mohammed Ādil, son of Tughlak. No opposition was made to the assumption of power by Jūnā, who is generally known to history as Mohammed, son of (*bin*) Tughlak. He enjoyed a long reign of twenty-six years, and during the earlier part

of it controlled twenty-four provinces, a dominion far larger than that of any of his predecessors. But the empire never was at rest ; no sooner was one section brought back to its allegiance than another would seek to assert its independence, and by the end of Mohammed's reign it was falling to pieces.

A vein of insanity ran through the Sultān's character, which is rightly described by Badāonī as 'a mixture of opposites'. His natural great abilities were constantly perverted, and he could not resist indulgence in mad schemes, which ruined his people and shook the throne. In spite of all, he died in his bed ; as the historian observes, 'at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people, and the people from their Sultān'. This deliverance was accomplished in March 1351, near Thattah (Tatta) in Sind, where the Sultān was engaged, as usual, in the pursuit of rebels.

Transfer of the capital to Daulatābād. One of the maddest of his schemes was the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogiri in the Deccan, which he renamed Daulatābād. The tyrant's order was carried out with such ruthless completeness that Delhi 'became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or cat in the city'. Ibn Batuta, the contemporary traveller, found Delhi 'almost a desert', and tells a gruesome story that, the Sultān's servants 'finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden man in another, the emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a catapult, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatābād, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged ; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it ; for the order had been that they should go to this place'. The unhappy people were afterwards forced to return to Delhi.

Other mad schemes ; cruelty. The Sultān aspired to the fame of a universal conqueror, and accordingly collected a vast army for the subjugation of Persia, which dispersed without effecting anything beyond the pillage of his subjects.

Again, he thought to subdue China and sent a hundred *thousand men into the Himālayas, where eighty thousand*, mostly cavalry, perished miserably. In order to provide funds for his schemes of world-wide conquest, he tried to force people to take copper or brass money as silver, engraving upon it the legend, 'He who obeys the Sultān,



THE CITADEL, DAULATĀBĀD

truly, he obeys God.' But, of course, the scheme failed in practice, 'till at last copper became copper, and silver, silver', while heaps of the brass coins lay at Tughlakabad (a Delhi fort), 'and had no more value than stones'. His administration, which he believed to be the perfection of justice, was so cruel and sanguinary that 'there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his civil court a mound of

dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were weary of dragging the wretched victims and putting them to death in crowds. So that the people were never tired of rebelling, nor the king of punishing '. He also committed frightful massacres on a large scale, and is said to have organized man-hunts, driving men and women like game to the slaughter.

Ruin of the empire. In the earlier days of his reign Mohammed had completed the reduction of the Deccan and brought it into some sort of order like the home provinces. But Bengal secured its independence about 1340, and before the end of the reign the Deccan, conquered with so much difficulty, had shaken off its allegiance.

Character of Mohammed bin Tughlak. Mr E. Thomas has fairly summed up this ' mixture of opposites ' by describing him as ' learned, merciless, religious, and mad '. He was eloquent, accomplished, skilled in Arabic, Persian, logic, mathematics, and Greek philosophy. He abstained from strong drink, the ruin of so many kings of Delhi, led a moral life, and was distinguished for his personal gallantry. But all these fine qualities were more than neutralized by his savage temper and insane ambitions, so that his reign stands out as one of the most calamitous in Indian history.

CHAPTER XIV

Decline of the Sultānate of Delhi : Fīrōz and the other successors of Mohammed bin Tughlak ; Tīmūr : the Lodī dynasty

Fīrōz Shah Tughlak. Fīrōz, the first cousin and designated heir of Sultān Mohammed Ādil, was invited by the nobles present at Thattah to accept the crown and rescue the state. Fīrōz accepted his election with great reluctance. As soon as possible, and with much difficulty, he brought back the army to the capital. Three years later he built the new city of

Fīrōzābād near Delhi. The Sultān's principal interest lay in building and the carrying out of public works. Fīrōz Shah's name is now chiefly remembered for the system of canals which he constructed for the supply of water from both the Jumna and the Sutlaj. Although most of these works have been obliterated by changes in the courses of the rivers and other causes, one of them still exists in a modified form and does good service as the Western Jumna canal.

Events of his reign. In 1356 Fīrōz Shah held the whole of Hindustan, except Bengal, which he twice attempted to subdue ; and was, of course, obliged to assert his authority in Hindustan by expeditions in various directions. As he grew old he left affairs of state almost entirely in the hands of his ministers, a father and son, who both took the title of Khān-i-Jahān. As early as 1359 he had associated his own son, Fath Khān, with himself in the royal power, and long after the death of that son he made another son, Mohammed Shah, his colleague in 1387, but in the next year removed him and nominated a grandson in his place. Fīrōz Shah does not seem ever to have been well fitted for his position by reason of strength of will, but he was a man of lofty character and comparatively merciful disposition, and has left a good reputation behind him.

Fīrōz a bigot. The praises lavished by Mohammedan historians on the personal character and comparatively peaceful reign of Fīrōz Shah must be qualified by recognition of the fact that he was a thoroughgoing Sunnī bigot, like Aurangzeb in a later age. His historian relates how he caused a Brahmin to be burnt alive for practising Hindu rites in public. A brief tract written by the Sultān himself is extant, in which he tells us that he cut off the heads of certain Shīah missionaries, and that he destroyed all new idol temples, executing the builders as a warning that Hindus should not take liberties 'in a Moslem country'. He encouraged his Hindu subjects to embrace the religion of the prophet by promising exemption

from the *jizya* (poll-tax), in consequence of which promise 'great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam'. It is thus clear that he regarded himself as the Sultān of the Moslem minority, not as the impartial sovereign of all races in his dominions.

Successors of Fīrōz Shah. The death of Fīrōz Shah in September 1388, at the age of 79, was followed by a prolonged struggle for the succession between various sons and grandsons, the details of which have been related by the Mohammedan historians, but are not worthy of remembrance. A series of worthless or puppet Sultāns pass across the stage, without doing anything deserving of record. The kingdom dwindled almost to nothing, and at one time, for three years, from about 1394 to 1397, things came to such a pass that Sultān Mahmūd was known as king in Old Delhi, while his relative Nusrat Shah enjoyed the same rank and title in Fīrōzābād, a few miles distant. 'Day by day', Badāonī says, 'battles were fought between these two kings, who were like the two kings in the game of chess.' 'And', he adds, 'all over Hindustan there arose parties each with its own Malik' (lord).

Tīmūr. Towards the end of 1398 this squalid squabbling was stilled by the irruption of another terrible chieftain from Central Asia, Tīmūr the Lame, the Tamerlane of tradition, who entered India by way of Multān, and reached Fīrōzābād near Delhi, 'sweeping the greater part of the country with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage'. At his camp opposite Delhi he butchered fifty thousand, or, according to some authorities, a hundred thousand, prisoners, not even sparing the Indian-born Moslems, although himself a Mohammedan, and found little difficulty in occupying Delhi, which he sacked without mercy. Happily he did not stay long. When departing, he made over the charge of the city and its dependencies to Khizr Khān, a reputed Saiyid, and then returned to Samarkand. At that time Mahmūd Tughlak, the last of his line, and always 'a very

shadow of a king ', was the nominal Sultān of Delhi. He lived until February 1413. After the departure of Tīmūr ' such a famine and pestilence fell upon the capital that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi '.

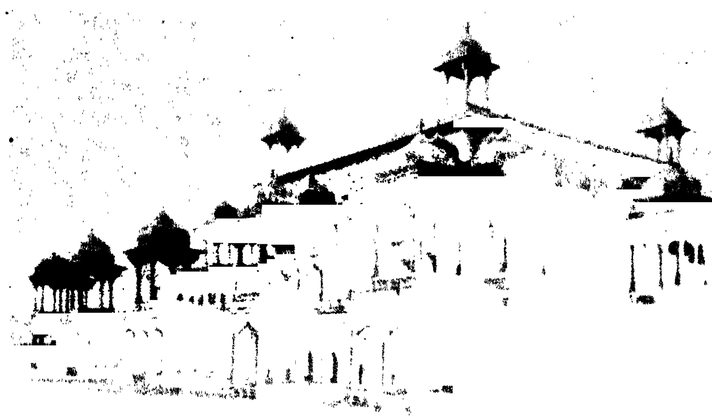
Dynasty of the so-called Saiyids. Khizr Khān, whom Tīmūr had left in charge, died in 1421, after some seven years of constant fighting. He was succeeded on the precarious throne of his limited dominions in the neighbourhood of Delhi by three members of his family, the last of whom, Alā-ud-dīn or Ālam Shah, abdicated in 1451, and retired to Budaon, which he was permitted to rule in peace by virtue of a friendly agreement with Bahlōl Lodī, an Afghan noble, who had made himself the leading man in the state.

The Pathān (Patān), or Afghan, Lodī dynasty ; Sultān Bahlōl. Bahlōl Lodī, who assumed the cares of sovereignty in 1451, really was an Afghan or Pathān, and is the first person entitled to be called a ' Pathān king of Delhi '. At that time the kingdom of Jaunpur had been independent for more than fifty years, and at the beginning of his reign Bahlōl had to accept the situation, the king of Jaunpur and he agreeing to retain their respective possessions. Sultān Bahlōl could not endure this rival monarch, and presently engaged in wars, in which he uniformly won, while Sultān Husain ' met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him '. Ultimately Bahlōl annexed the Jaunpur kingdom, known as the Sharkī, or Eastern, and bestowed it on his son Bārbak Shah. In July 1489 (A.H. 894), Bahlōl died in the Doāb. He is described by Moslem writers as a man of simple habits, pious, brave, and generous '.

Sikandar Lodī. On hearing of the death of Bahlōl, one of his sons named Nizām Khān, hastened to Delhi, and was proclaimed Sultān under the title of Sikandar without serious opposition. His elder brother, Bārbak Shah of Jaunpur, after a time came to terms, and tendered his allegiance.

Sultān Husain, the ex-king of Jaunpur, also tried to recover his heritage, but was defeated as usual. Sultān Sikandar then annexed Bihār and Tirhūt, which had been held by the King of Jaunpur, and occupied much time in bringing the territories near Gwalior into subjection. He had an intense horror of idolatry, and made a point of destroying all the temples and images which he came across. Mohammedan writers give him a good character, and praise his administration as having been just and vigorous. We have no record of Hindu opinion. After a prosperous reign of twenty-eight years, during which he had extended his dominions considerably, he passed away in November 1517. Food was extremely cheap in his reign.

Earthquake ; buildings at Agra. A notable event of his time was the earthquake in 1505, which shook the whole of Hindustan and Persia, so that ' men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived ', and believed that no such earthquake had been known since the days of Adam. Sikandar was the first of the kings of Delhi to make Agra his occasional residence. The village of Sikandara, where Akbar's mausoleum



AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDARA

stands, bears his name, and the building there known as the Bāradarī is a palace built by him in 1495.

Ibrāhīm Lodī. The nobles selected Ibrāhīm, the third son of Sikandar, to succeed his father as Sultān of Delhi, bestowing the kingdom of Jaunpur on the second son, Sultān Jalāl. This arrangement naturally led to friction, and a war between Ibrāhīm and his brother of Jaunpur ended in the destruction of Jalāl. Ibrāhīm could not get on well with his nobles, and was troubled continually with revolts, which he punished with arrogant severity. Ultimately Daulat Khān Lodī, a governor in the Panjāb, applied for help against his sovereign to Bābur, King of Kābul, who gladly seized the opportunity for invading India. On the field of Pānīpat, to the north of Delhi, and not very distant from the ancient battlefields of Kurukshetra and Tarāīn, on 21 April 1526, Ibrāhīm met Bābur, and suffered a crushing defeat, which cost him his throne and life.

Interruption of the narrative. The battle will be described in connexion with the reign of Bābur, but before we enter on the history of the Mogul dynasty, it will be well to pause and take note of the principal kingdoms which shaped themselves in various parts of India during the decay of the Sultānate of Delhi following on the death of Mohammed bin Tughlak. We shall also pass briefly in review the state of society, religion, literature, and art during the period of the Delhi Sultānate (1206-1526), commonly miscalled the 'Pathān empire'.

The Sultāns of Delhi

The Khiljī (Khaljī) Dynasty

(Omitting some minor names)

Jalāl-ud-dīn (Fīrōz Shah)	acc. 1290
Famine	1291
Annexation of Elichpur	1294

Alā-ud-dīn (Mohammed Shah)	acc.	1296
Massacre of Mongol converts	?	1297
Southern campaigns of Malik Kāfūr		1302-11
Mongol raid		1303
Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak	acc.	1315
Destruction of Harapāla Yādava		1318
[Khusrū Khān (Nāsir-ud-dīn), usurper		1320]

Tughlak Dynasty

Ghiyās-ud-dīn	acc.	1320
Mohammed Ādil (Fakhr-ud-dīn Jūnā)	acc.	Feb. 1325
Fīrōz Shah	acc.	Mar. 1351
	died	1388
Struggle for the succession		1388-1451
(Including the so-called Saiyid dynasty		1414-51)
Sack of Delhi by Tīmūr		1398

The Lodī Dynasty

Bahlōl	acc.	1451
Sikandar (Nizām Khān)	acc.	1489
Earthquake		1505
Ibrāhīm		1517
Battle (first) of Pānīpat		1526

CHAPTER XV

The Mohammedan kingdoms of Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarāt, Mālwā, and the Deccan; the Hindu kingdoms of Vijayanagar, Mewār, and Orissa; literature and architecture; the Urdu language; spread of Mohammedanism; Hindu religious sects

The Mohammedan kingdom of Bengal. From the time of the successful raid by Mohammed, the son of Bakhtyār, in 1199 (*ante*, p. 106), Bengal was considered to be a province of the Sultānate of Delhi, and its rulers were regarded officially

as the deputies of the Sultāns. But the control of Delhi was little more than nominal, and the governors of Bengal twenty-five in number, between 1193 and 1338, usually could do what they liked. The Mohammedan province of Bengal, or Lakhnautī ordinarily consisted of the territory bounded by the Sundarbans on the south, by the Brahmaputra on the east, by Kūch Bihār and the Tarāi on the north, and by the Kosi river on the west. But at times Tirhūt and South Bihār were added to the kingdom, which did not include either Orissa or Chota Nāgpur. The three ancient capitals, Gaur or Lakhnautī, Pandua or Fīrōzābād, and Tānda were all situated in the Mālda District.

Iliyās Shah and his successors. During the reign of Mohammed bin Tughlak (*ante*, p. 117) Iliyās Shah established himself as independent king, and was formally recognized as such by Sultān Fīrōz in 1355. He was reputed to be a vigorous and successful ruler. His son, Sikandar Shah (1358-89), equally capable, is famous as the builder of the Ādīnah mosque at Pandua, apparently copied from the great mosque at Damascus, and regarded as the finest building in Bengal.

Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah. Husain Shah (1493-1518) is considered to have been the best and greatest of the Mohammedan kings of Bengal. He gave shelter and a residence to Sultān Husain of Jaunpur, when that prince was turned out of his kingdom by Bahlōl Lodī (*ante*, p. 120). The occupation, by the Lodī Sultān, of Bihār, which had been held by the kings of Jaunpur, brought the Sultāns of Bengal and Delhi into direct touch with one another. Nusrat Shah of Bengal (1518-32) annexed Tirhūt, and consequently was attacked by Bābur, but peace was made.

Sher Shah and his Afghan successors. After Bābur's death in 1530 a long struggle ensued between Sher Shah, the Afghan governor of Bihār, and Bābur's son Humāyun. In the course of this struggle Sher Shah made himself Sultān of Bengal, and a little later (1520) became for a time also the king of Delhi.

Sher Shah's dynasty soon came to an end, and another line of Afghan chiefs obtained the Sultānate of Bengal. The last of this line, Dāūd Shah, was defeated and executed by Akbar's general in 1576, from which time Bengal became a province or Sūba of the Mogul empire. Subsequently Orissa was nominally included in the Sūba of Bengal, but was never thoroughly mastered by the Moslem governments.

The Mohammedan kingdom of Jaunpur. The history of the kingdom of Jaunpur is short, extending over less than a century. The present city was founded by Fīrōz Shah of the Tughlak dynasty in 1360, on the site of a Hindu town. In 1394 the powerful noble Khwāja Jahān was appointed by Mahmūd Tughlak to be the Lord of the East (*Malik-us-shark*), with his headquarters at Jaunpur. The troubles ensuing on the sack of Delhi by Tīmūr in 1398 (*ante*, p. 119) enabled Khwāja Jahān's adopted son to sever the slight bond of allegiance which bound him to Delhi, and to set up as a king with the style of Mubārak Shah Sharkī.

Ibrāhīm and his successors. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ibrāhīm, the most famous of the Jaunpur kings, who reigned prosperously from 1400 to 1440. He is described by Abu-l Fazl, from the Mohammedan point of view, as ' an active and good prince, equally beloved in life, as he was regretted by all his subjects '. Perhaps the Hindus may have thought otherwise, for Ibrāhīm is also described as ' a bigoted Moslem, and a steady if not a bloody persecutor '. Unluckily, no Hindu version of the story of the Sultānate of Delhi and other kingdoms exists. All our information comes from Moslem writers who believed in the merit of sending Hindus ' to hell '—to use their habitual language. Ibrāhīm's son Mahmūd was equally able, and conducted his wars with success. The last independent king of Jaunpur was the unlucky Sultān Husain, who was driven from his throne by Bahlōl Lodī in or about 1476, and took refuge with his namesake in Bengal (*ante*, p. 120). Bahlōl appointed his own

eldest son Bārbak to be viceroy of the Jaunpur kingdom in 1486. Bahlōl's successor, Sikandar Lodī, completed the reduction of the Jaunpur dominions, including Bihār.

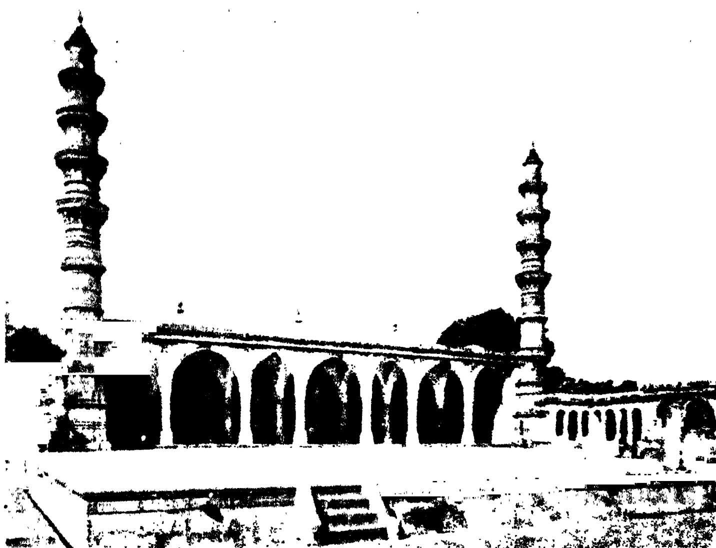
Literature and art under the kings of Jaunpur. All the members of the Sharkī dynasty were patrons of Persian and Arabic literature, and Sultān Husain, although unfortunate in war, was distinguished as a musician and composer. The reputation of Jaunpur stood so high that the city was described as ' the Shirāz of India '. The great mosques of Jaunpur, the Atāla, built by Ibrāhīm, the Lāl or Red, built by his son, and the Jāmi, built by Husain, are among the most notable monuments of the miscalled ' Pathān ' architecture. These mosques have no minarets and are characterized by their massive and imposing gateways with walls sloping inwards.

The Mohammedan kingdom of Gujarāt. Gujarāt, the fine province corresponding to the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, with Baroda and the southern portion of Rājputāna, was annexed by Sultān Mohammed of Ghor in 1196, and thenceforward continued to be more or less subject to the rulers of Delhi until the invasion of Tīmūr in 1398. At that time the governor, like his colleague in Jaunpur, set up as an independent king under the title of Muzaffar Shah. His grandson, Ahmad Shah (1411-43), founded Ahmadabad, which replaced Anhilwāra as the capital, and waged many wars with Mālwā and other neighbouring states.

Mahmūd Shah and Bahādur Shah. The best and most renowned of the kings of Gujarāt was Mahmūd Shah Bīgarha, who came to the throne as a boy of thirteen, and reigned for fifty-two years (1459-1511). He carried on a long war with the Rānā of Mewār, and was victorious in many conflicts with his neighbours. He was less successful in his resistance to the Portuguese, who were now becoming a power in Western India, and lost his fleet in a battle fought with them off Diu in 1509. At about the same time Sikandar Lodī, the Sultān of Delhi, recognized the independence of the kingdom of Gujarāt.

Bahādur Shah, grandson and fourth successor of Mahmūd, annexed the kingdom of Mālwā in 1531 and three years later besieged and took the fortress of Chitor from the Rānā of Mewār.

The last Sultān of Gujarāt, Muzaffar Shah, was crushed by Akbar, who annexed the kingdom to his empire, completing the conquest in 1572-3.



SHAH ALAM'S MOSQUE, AHMADABAD

Architecture in Gujarāt. Many very beautiful Hindu and Jain temples, erected in the time of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla (*ante*, p. 98), served to a large extent as materials and models for the equally beautiful architecture of the Mohammedan kings. Ahmadabad was made the handsomest city in India, and still deserved that epithet at the end of the sixteenth century, its buildings being unsurpassed for elegance,

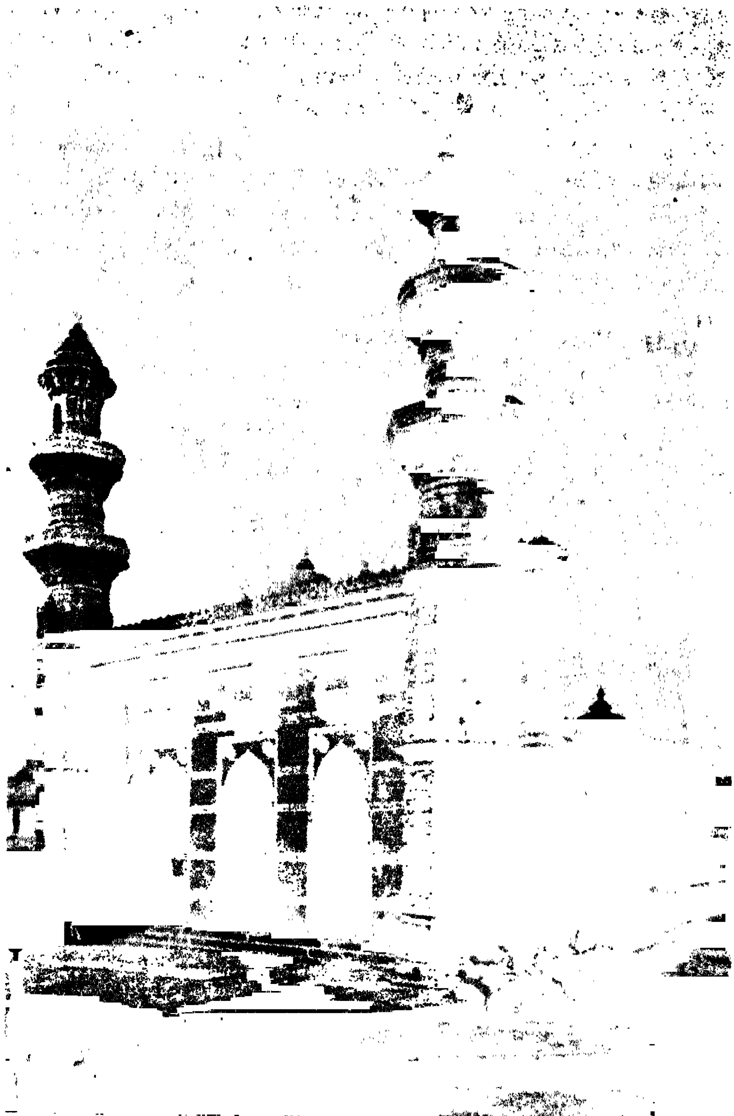
grace, and profuse decoration. Architecture is still a living art in Gujarāt, which is almost the only province where modern architects retain the early traditions of their craft and to a considerable extent the skill of the ancients.

The Mohammedan kingdom of Mālwā. Mālwā, which had been conquered by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, and then administered by governors for about a century, became independent shortly after Tīmūr's invasion. The most famous of its kings was Hoshang Shah (1405-32), who made Māndū the capital. The buildings of that city rivalled those of Ahmadabad. For a short time (1531) Mālwā was absorbed by Gujarāt, and in 1564 it was annexed to the empire of Delhi by Akbar.

The Mohammedan kingdom of Khāndesh. The small kingdom of Khāndesh in the valley of the Tāptī became independent, like so many other provinces, in the closing years of the fourteenth century, and continued to exist under the government of a family of Arab descent until 1601, when Akbar obtained possession of the fortress of Asīrgarh, which commanded the road to the Deccan. Prince Dāniyāl was made governor of the conquered province, to which in compliment to him the emperor gave the name of Dāndesh.

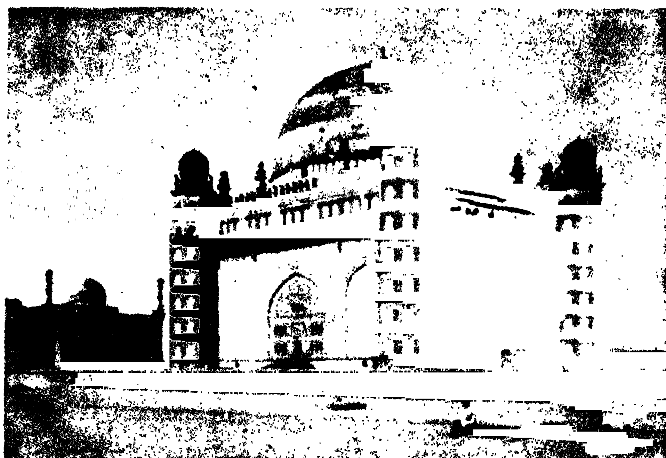
The Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan : the Bahmanī kingdom. The numerous independent states formed in the Deccan can be noticed only very briefly. An Afghan officer named Hasan, and surnamed Gangū Bahmanī, established during the reign of Mohammed bin Tughlak (1347) an extensive kingdom with its capital first at Kulbargā,[1] in the south-west of the territory now constituting the Nizām's Dominions, and afterwards at Bīdar, sixty miles distant. The dynasty became known as the Bahmanī from the surname of its founder. For more than a century (1347-1482) the Bahmanī kingdom stretched right across India from sea to sea, including a large part of what is now the Bombay Presidency, as well as the Nizām's Dominions, and the

[1] Gulbarga is the Hyderabad spelling. Kulbargā is better.



THE MUHAFIZ KHĀN MOSQUE, AHMADABAD

'Northern Circars' of the Madras Presidency. The kings were mostly engaged in war with the powerful Hindu state of Vijayanagar on the south, which then dominated the whole of the Tamil territory. After 1482 the kingdom was split up, and the later Bahmanī kings had merely nominal rank. A Turkish officer founded a small independent principality, which is known to history as the kingdom of Bīdar, and lasted for more than a century. The rulers of this principality are called the Barīd Shahis.



GOL GUMBAZ, BIJĀPUR, THE TOMB OF MOHAMMED ĀDIL SHAH
(mid Seventeenth Century)

Other Mohammedan kingdoms : Bijāpur. The Bahmani dynasty, which saw its best days in the early part of the fifteenth century, was no longer able to control the more distant territories in the time of its decline. In 1490 a Turkish governor of Bijāpur threw off his allegiance, and set up as an independent king. The dynasty so founded, known as the Ādil Shahi from the title of its founder, lasted until 1686, when Aurangzeb put an end to it. The ancient city is said to measure thirty miles round, and impresses all visitors by the

grandeur of its ruins. The great mosques and tombs of the Ādil Shahi kings, which differ much in style from those at Agra and Delhi, are pronounced by a good judge to be 'scarcely, if at all, inferior in originality of design and boldness of execution'.

Ahmadnagar. The Nizām Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was founded at about the same time as the Ādil Shahi by another rebellious governor, Ahmad Shahi, son of Nizām-ul-mulk. The details of its history are not of general interest, and it will be sufficient to note that a gallant lady, Chānd Bībī,



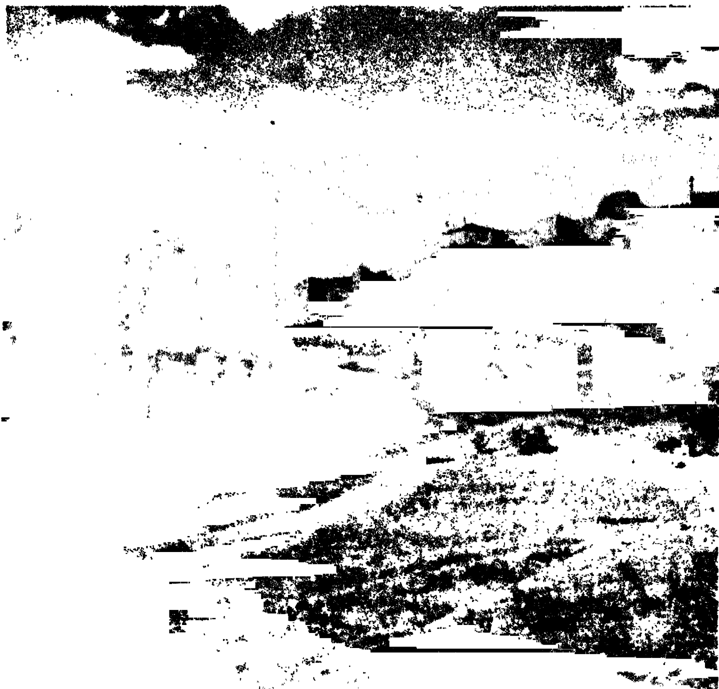
MALIK-I-MAIDAN. BIJĀPUR

had the good fortune to repulse Akbar in 1596. Four years later the capital fell temporarily into the hands of the emperor, who formally constituted a Sūba, or province of Ahmadnagar, but an Abyssinian minister named Malik Ambar recovered possession of the city, and the final annexation of the kingdom did not take place until 1637.

Golkonda. The kingdom of Golkonda (more accurately, Gulkandah), another fragment of the Bahmanī dominion, separated in 1518. The dynasty, known as the Kutb Shahi, lasted until 1687, when it was suppressed by Aurangzeb. Golkonda is close to Hyderabad, now the capital of the

Nizām's Dominions. The ancient fortress, which contains some magnificent tombs, was used by the Nizām as a state prison and treasure-house.

Berār or Elichpur. Yet another rebellious governor set up a small kingdom in Berār, with its capital at Elichpur, which lasted for about eighty-four years, until 1574, when it was annexed by Ahmadnagar. The kings are spoken of as the Imād Shahi dynasty.



THE OLD FORT, GOLKONDA

The five Sultāns of the Deccan : summary. Thus it appears that on the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom arose five distinct Mohammedan Sultānates, namely :

(1) the Barīd Shahis of Bīdar
(2) the Ādil Shahis of Bijāpur
(3) the Nizām Shahis of Ahmadnagar
(4) the Kutb Shahis of Golkonda
(5) the Imād Shahis of Berār or Elichpur

The history of Southern India between 1400 and 1565 may be summed up as that of a conflict between the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar and the five Sultāns of the Deccan, which ended in the decisive victory of the Moslem powers, who in their turn were forced to bow before the might of the Mogul emperors of Delhi.

The Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. Shortly after the destruction by Mohammed bin Tughlak of the Hoysala power (*ante*, p. 84), five brothers, feudatories of that state, began to create an independent kingdom to the south of the Kistna (Krishnā) and Tungabhadra rivers. Two of them, Harihara I and Bukka (1336-76) are counted as the first two kings of Vijayanagar. The new kingdom grew so quickly that during the lifetime of the brothers the Mohammedans were driven from Madura, the old Pāndya capital, and the Chola kingdom also was absorbed in the dominions of the new-born state. The learned Brahmin Mādhavācharya and his brother Sāyana, the famous commentator on the Vedas and other sacred literature, were ministers of the first four kings.

The city. The capital was established at Vijayanagar, now represented by the extensive ruins at Hampi and the neighbourhood in the Bellary District of Madras. The kings, who were Kanarese by birth, assumed the Kanarese title of Rāya. Under their care the city progressed with such rapidity that when it was visited in 1443 by a Persian ambassador named Abdur Razzāk, it was one of the most magnificent cities in Asia. Its ruins, which have been surveyed recently in detail,

are crowded with fine Hindu buildings, and cover many square miles. The city was protected, like ancient Kanauj and Delhi, by seven distinct lines of fortifications, and its bazaars swarmed with dealers in all the commodities of the eastern world.



THE LOTUS MAHAL. VIJAYANAGAR

A few sentences from Abdur Razzāk's detailed description may be quoted :

'The city is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half of which is sunk in the ground, while the other half rises above it. These are fixed one beside the other in such a manner that no horse or foot soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel. . .

'Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery, but the audience-hall of the king's palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad.

'Flowers are sold everywhere. These people could not live without flowers, and they look upon them as quite as necessary as food . . . Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazaars pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. . . This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into extensive details. In the king's palace are several cells, like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass. . . The throne, which was of extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value.'

Government of the kingdom. Portuguese authors, especially one named Nuñiz, who wrote about 1535, give a vivid picture of the government, administration, and institutions of the Vijayanagar kingdom or empire in the days of its splendour.

The government was of the most absolute kind possible, the king's power over everybody, great or small, being without check of any kind. All the attendance on the king was done by women, many of whom were armed.

'These kings of Bisnaga eat all sorts of things, but not the flesh of oxen or cows, which they never kill in all the country of the heathen because they worship them. They eat mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quail, and all kinds of birds; even sparrows, and rats, and cats, and lizards, all of which are sold in the city of Bisnaga.'[1]

The empire was divided into about two hundred provinces or districts, each under the control of a governor, who was absolute in his domain, but was himself entirely at the mercy of the king. Each governor had to supply a certain number of equipped soldiers. The army thus raised numbered fully a million of men. A huge revenue was collected. While the king and nobles lived in luxury, the common people were

[1] Bisnaga is the Portuguese form of the name. 'Heathen' means Hindus, as distinguished from 'Moors', or Moslems.

ground down to the dust, and left barely enough to support life.

The punishments for crime were of appalling severity.

'For a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin.'

It is not surprising to be told that thieves were 'very few'. Impalement and the other horrible penalties then common throughout India were also inflicted.

Duelling was permitted, with the sanction of the minister, and persons who fought duels were held in high honour. The victor was given the estate of the opponent whom he killed.[1] Suttee (*satī*) was widely practised, and when the king died, four or five hundred of his women had to burn with him. Telugu women were buried alive with their husbands.

Such was life under a purely Hindu government in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Later history of Vijayanagar; Krishnarāya Deva. As already observed, the external history of the Vijayanagar kingdom may be summed up in the statement that the Rāyas were engaged continually in fighting their Moslem rivals—at first the Bahmanī kingdom, and then the five Sultānates of the Deccan. The most notable of the Rāyas was Krishnarāya Deva (1509-29) who overcame the armies of Orissa, Golkonda, and Bijāpur. He was the last great Hindu sovereign of Southern India. Krishnarāya Deva was famous for his religious zeal and his charming disposition.

'His kindness to the fallen enemy, his acts of mercy and charity towards the residents of captured cities, his great military prowess, which endeared him alike to his feudatory chiefs and to his subjects, the royal reception and kindness that he invariably bestowed upon foreign embassies, his imposing personal appearance, his genial look and polite conversation

[1] In the Malabar District the custom of duelling among the Nāyars was well remembered up to the 1880s, and celebrated in popular ballads. The weapons used were swords.

which distinguished a pure and dignified life, his love for literature and for religion, and his solicitude for the welfare of his people, and above all, the almost fabulous wealth that he conferred as endowments on temples and Brahmins, mark him out indeed as the greatest of the South Indian monarchs who sheds a lustre on the pages of history.'[1]



Battle of Tālikota When Sadāsiva became nominal Rāya, the actual power was wielded by his brother-in-law, Rāmarāja, whose pride so incensed his neighbours that four of the five Sultāns laid aside their private quarrels to combine against the common Hindu enemy. Enormous armies on both sides

[1] Krishna Sāstri, 'The Second Vijayanagara Dynasty', in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-9, p. 186.

met in battle in January 1565, at a spot to the north of the Tungabhadra not far from the capital. The battle is known in history by the name of Tālikota, although that village is distant from the scene of the conflict. The Hindu host was utterly defeated, and Rāmarāja was captured and killed. His splendid city was mercilessly sacked, and ever since has lain desolate.

Grant of the site of Madras. The history of the kingdom of Vijayanagar as an important dominant state ends with the disaster of Tālikota, but the successors of Sadāsiva long ruled a considerable principality in the south, with their capital at first at Penukonda, and afterwards at Chandragiri. In 1639 (O.S.) a chief subordinate to the Rājā of Chandragiri, in consideration of a yearly rent, conveyed a strip of sandbank, situated on the bank of the Cooum river to the north of the decayed Portuguese settlement of San Thomé, to Mr Francis Day, a British merchant, Member of Council in the East India Company's Agency at Masulipatam. On the site so granted the city of Madras was founded. The gold plate on which the conveyance was recorded was subsequently lost with other similar documents, perhaps during the French occupation of Madras, 1746-9.

The Hindu state of Mewār (Udaipur). The Rānā of Mewār, who belongs to the Sīsodia or Gahlot clan of Rājpūts, is admittedly the premier Rājpūt prince. His ancestors never permitted the purity of their blood to be defiled by marriage of their daughters with the Mogul emperors, and their state never submitted to Moslem power, except to Jahāngīr on honourable terms. The ancient capital, the famous fortress of Chitor, is supposed to have been occupied in the eighth century. Its three sieges, by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī in 1303, by Bahādur Shah of Gujarāt in 1534, and by Akbar in 1568, gave occasion for the display of prodigies of valour by the Rājpūt defenders, and for ghastly tragedies in the sacrifice of the women by fire (*jōhar*) to save them from capture. Before the last siege the

Rānā changed his residence to Udaipur, which has been the capital ever since. The two towers at Chitor known as the Kīrti Stambh and Jai Stambh are notable works of Hindu art. The conflict between Rānā Sanga and Bābur will be noticed in the next chapter.

The Hindu kingdom of Orissa. Orissa, including the modern Division of that name now part of the province of Orissa, as well as the Ganjām and Vizagapatam Districts of Madras,



THE ROYAL LAKE UDAIPUR

always lay by reason of its situation outside the main stream of Indian history. During the greater part of the period of the Sultānate of Delhi the country was governed by the Eastern Ganga dynasty. The first of this line in Orissa, Anantavarman Cholaganga, reigned for seventy-one years (1076-1147), and established his power over the whole territory between the Ganges and Godāvarī. The temple of Jagannāth at Puri was built under his orders towards the close of the eleventh century.

Mohammedan attacks on Orissa. The Mohammedan historians apply the name of Jājnagar to Orissa. The first Mohammedan inroad into the province was made by an officer of Mohammed, son of Bakhtyār, in 1205. Later incursions were led by Fīrōz Shah and others, tempted by the facilities for obtaining elephants in the country. Akbar subdued the kingdom more or less completely, and attached it to the Sūba of Bengal. The way had been prepared for this measure by the invasion of Kālā Pahār, a general of the Sultān of Bengal, a few years earlier.

Orissan architecture. The province offers a long series of fine examples of the 'Indo-Aryan' style of temples with heavy steeples and few pillars. The noble temple of the Sun at Konarak (Konārka, Kanarak) is proved by inscriptions to have been built or rebuilt by Rājā Nrisimha in the thirteenth century (1238-64), but looks, and probably is in part, much older. The magnificent group of temples at Bhuvanesvar appears to extend over a considerable period.

Government of the Sultāns of Delhi. The government of the Sultāns of Delhi was an absolute despotism, tempered by rebellion and assassination. The control over distant provinces was lax and slight, and the bonds which connected them with Delhi were easily broken in the disturbed times which followed the tyranny of Mohammed bin Tughlak. The subordinate governments were equally despotic, and when the rulers were Moslems the Hindus generally seem to have had a bad time. Fīrōz Shah Tughlak was the only Sultān who cared to execute public works for the general benefit.

Literature and architecture. Many of the Mohammedan princes had a nice taste in Persian literature, which they liberally patronized, and, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 98), the Hindu Rājās often maintained brilliant courts and encouraged Sanskrit letters. The numerous splendid architectural works in the various provinces have been noticed, as well as some of the buildings with which Delhi was adorned. The name of

Delhi is applied for convenience to a series of cities beginning with the Old Delhi (Dillī) of Ānangapāla in the eleventh century and extending to the New Delhi (Shahjahānabad) of Shahjahān in the seventeenth. Yet another Delhi has been built to serve as the official capital of India from 1912. The architecture of the Sultānate—that is to say, of the Mohammedan buildings—was designed in various foreign styles, executed and modified by Hindu architects, whom the conquerors were obliged to employ. The term 'Pathān architecture' is as erroneous and misleading as the corresponding terms 'Pathān kings' and 'Pathān empire'. The architects imitated various Moslem buildings in Damascus, Mecca, and other places.

The Urdu language. The Urdu or Persianized Hindustani language grew up gradually as a means of communication between the foreign conquerors, who generally spoke either Turkī or Persian, and their Hindu subjects. The Western Hindī dialect of Delhi and the Upper Doāb is the basis of the language now called Hindustani. When Persian and Arabic words and phrases are freely admitted, that language takes the name of Urdu. The word Urdu is the Turkī for 'camp', and is the origin of the English word 'horde'. It was specially applied to the encampment of the warrior Moslem kings, whose camp was their court, and in the Mogul period coins are often marked as struck in the *urdū*, or royal camp. The Urdu language, therefore, means the form of Hindustani, or polished Western Hindī, spoken about the court, and thus diffused, in several varieties, over the greater part of India. The earliest Urdu literature, written in verse, in the *Rekhta* dialect, was composed in the Deccan towards the close of the sixteenth century. Urdu prose is a recent development under English influence.

Spread of Mohammedanism We have seen something of the ferocity displayed by the early Mohammedan conquerors against Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists, all equally hated

because of their use of images in worship. Occasionally a Hindu Rājā and his followers were tempted to save their lives by professing the creed of Islam, and many of the Indian Moslem families of the present day are descended from converts made at the point of the sword in the period of the Sultānate. Desire to escape payment of the *jizya* or poll-tax imposed on all non-Mohammedans was a powerful motive which influenced many conversions, especially among the lower classes. Constant immigration of Moslems also went on, and the natural increase of the offspring of such settlers soon formed a large Mohammedan element in many parts of India, most numerous at and near the capital cities.

Causes of Moslem victories. The student may ask for an explanation of the fact that the Moslem armies were almost always victorious over much more numerous Hindu hosts. The combatants on both sides were equally brave and ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of a cause, and the Hindu failure was not due to cowardice. But the Mohammedans were in practice the better fighting men, because they were better equipped, animated by a fierce fanatical spirit which welcomed death, and bound together by a sentiment of equality and unity. The invaders, coming from colder climates and using a meat diet, were personally more hardy and vigorous on the whole than their opponents. They were better provided with armour, and from the time of Bābur utilized the European invention of big guns.

Islam regards all Moslems as equal and as brethren. The Mohammedans, rich and poor, freemen and slaves, fought with one mind, and so had an enormous advantage over the Hindus, broken up by endless caste divisions and sectional jealousies. Union was strength, as it always is. The comparatively small numbers of the invaders forced them to fight for victory or death. The Indian generals thought too much of the antiquated rules of their *śāstras*, and relied too confidently on their elephants. They had quite forgotten the

lesson taught them ages earlier by Alexander of Macedon, who proved the uselessness of elephants against horsemen and archers well led by bold commanders. Ingenuity might, perhaps, suggest other reasons, but so many may suffice.

Influence of Islam on Hinduism. The religion of the strangers, with its insistance on the great doctrine that 'there is One God', undoubtedly influenced the spirit of Hindu teaching and had much to do with the appearance of a number of religious reformers who preached to the effect that all religions are essentially the same, and all honour the one God under different names.

Rāmānuja, Rāmānand, Kabīr, Nānak, Chaitanya. Rāmānuja, who lived at Srīrangam in the south at the close of the eleventh and in the first half of the twelfth century, is recognized as one of the greatest of the teachers who gave special devotion to the Deity in the form of Vishnu. 'It was the school of Rāmānuja', Professor Barnett observes, 'that first blended into a full harmony the voices of reason and of devotion by worshipping a Supreme of infinitely blessed qualities both in His heaven and as revealed to the soul of man in incarnate experience'—a doctrine hardly to be distinguished in substance from the Christian idea of the Incarnation. The teaching of Rāmānuja, which even in his lifetime was not confined to the south, was propagated in the north during the fourteenth century by Rāmānand, who sought especially to save the souls of the poorer and more despised classes. He preferred to honour God under the name of Rāma.

The most renowned of his twelve disciples was Kabīr (died ? 1518), whose terse sayings are on everybody's lips in Upper India. His teaching appealed equally to Moslems and Hindus. In the fifteenth century, Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect, taught his disciples on Kabīr's lines, and had followers among the Moslems as well as the Hindus. Bengal especially venerates the memory of Chaitanya of Nūdīah

(Nuddea, Navadvīpa), 1485-1533, who denounced the use of animal food, the practice of bloody sacrifice, and the use of stimulants. He, in common with many other teachers, rejected the old Brahmin doctrine of salvation by knowledge, and pleaded that men and women could be saved only by fervent living faith (*bhakti*) in a personal, loving God.

The doctrine of faith (*bhakti*). This doctrine of *bhakti*, which has much in common with some forms of Christianity, may be traced back to the *Bhagavad Gītā* (*ante*, p. 28), and lies at the base of a great part of mediaeval and modern Hindu literature in the various Indian languages. The writers may be divided into three classes according as the object of their worship is Rāma, Krishṇa, or some form of Siva or his consort. Tulsī Dās, 1532-1623 (*ante*, p. 29), has done much to teach the masses of the people in Upper India the beauty of faith in Rāma, the Saviour. Chaitanya found the objects of his devotion in Krishna and his divine queen, Rādhā, and by the addition of the feminine element produced a highly emotional form of religion, congenial to the Bengalī temperament.



JALĀL-UD-DĪN AKBAR

BOOK IV

THE MOGUL EMPIRE FROM 1526 TO 1761

CHAPTER XVI

Bābur ;[1] Humāyun ; Sher Shah and the Sūr dynasty

Early life of Bābur. Bābur (Zahīr-ud-dīn Mohammed), king of Kābul, whom Daulat Khān called in as his ally against Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī of Delhi (*ante*, p. 122), was the most remarkable prince of his age. Descended in the male line from Tīmūr, in the female from the stock of Chingiz Khān, he succeeded his father, Omar Shaikh, on the throne of the little Central Asian kingdom of Ferghana or Khokand at the age of eleven. In the course of a stormy youth he passed through countless adventures, and by the time he was twenty-eight years of age (1511) had been driven out of his ancestral realm and had twice won and lost the kingdom of Samarkand. Seven years earlier he had seized Kābul, and from that time, being disappointed in his ambition to restore the empire of Tīmūr in Central Asia, directed his thoughts and hopes towards the rich plains of India.

Raids on India, A.D. 1505-25. In 1505 Bābur occupied Ghaznī and raided the Indian frontier as far as the Indus, but he did not cross that river until 1519, when he effected a temporary occupation of part of the Panjāb. That campaign was notable for Bābur's effective use of European artillery, then a novelty in the East. In 1524, in response to the appeal of Daulat Khān and of Ālam Khān, the uncle and rival of Sultān Ibrāhīm, he reached Lahore and Debālpur, sacking both. But in consequence of Daulat Khān's desertion, Bābur

[1] Bābur or Bābūr, not Bābar. (*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1910, vol. VI, N.S. extra number p. 4.)

was obliged to return to Kābul for reinforcements, and his final invasion of India did not begin until November 1525.

First battle of Pānīpat, 1526. Bābur's little force of less than twelve thousand men met the host of Sultān Ibrāhīm, estimated to number about a hundred thousand men, on the plain of Pānīpat, some fifty miles to the north of Delhi, on 21 April 1526. The invader had the advantage of possessing a large number of field-guns; the Sultān, after the Indian manner, relied on his elephants and, like Porus, found them useless to protect his infantry against cavalry well handled. Bābur executed the manœuvre which Alexander had found so successful against Porus, and wheeling his horsemen round with resistless speed, attacked the enemy's rear. In the course of the forenoon the army of Delhi was completely routed, and Sultān Ibrāhīm lay dead on the field with fifteen thousand of his men. 'By the grace and mercy of Almighty God,' Bābur wrote, 'this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust.'



BĀBUR

Bābur proclaimed as Padshah. The victor, who used the title of Padshah in preference to that of Sultān, quickly occupied Delhi and Agra, being proclaimed sovereign at both cities on Friday, 27 April. Vast booty having been distributed, Bābur's troops, disgusted with the intense heat, longed to return to the cool hills of Kābul, and were appeased with difficulty by a speech from their commander.

Battle of Kanwāha or Sīkrī, 1527. During the short remainder of his life Bābur was employed in trying to secure the foothold which he had obtained in the country, and had no leisure to think of the problems of civil government. His most formidable foe was the gallant Rānā Sanga, lord of the fortress of Chitor, chieftain of Mewār, head of the Rājpūt clans, and leader of a confederacy comprising more than a hundred Hindu princes. The Rānā, the 'fragment of a man', a 'collection of casualties', whose valour in countless fights was proved by the eighty wounds on his body, brought into the field a huge army supposed to number two hundred thousand. Bābur's force, which was much inferior in numbers but superior in artillery and generalship, met the Hindu host at Kanwāha (Kanwa, Khānua, or Khanwah) near Sīkrī, about twenty miles from Agra, on 16 March 1527. From morning until evening the battle was fiercely contested, but was decided against the Hindus by the tactics which had succeeded at Pānīpat. The victory was complete, and the Rājpūt power was broken. The storming of Chanderi, a strong fortress in the south-east of Mālwā, crowned the victory, and left Bābur free to deal with other enemies.

Battle of the Ghāghra (Gogra). Bābur's third great Indian battle was fought in May 1529, near the confluence of the Ghāghra with the Ganges, against the Afghan chiefs of Bihār and Bengal, who had taken up the cause of Mahmūd, the brother of Sultān Ibrāhīm, who fell at Pānīpat. This conflict too resulted in victory for the Padshah, who made a treaty with Nusrat Shah, the independent king of Bengal, and became the sovereign of Bihār. But Bābur's sovereignty was of a very precarious kind, and depended solely on the power of his sword; the task of converting a mere military occupation into a well-ordered government was reserved for his grandson.

Death of Bābur. Bābur's stormy life ended in 1530, when he was in the forty-eighth year of his age. A pathetic story

related in an appendix to his *Memoirs* tells how his beloved son Humāyun was desperately ill with fever, and was believed to have been saved by his father's taking the malady on himself. 'He entered his son's chamber, and going to the head of the bed, walked gravely three times round the sick man, saying the while : "On me be all that thou art suffering."' The prayer was answered. The son regained health and the father died. This touching incident happened at Agra, then the capital. On 26 December 1530, Bābur passed away in his palace at Agra. His dust lies in the garden below the hill at Kābul, 'the sweetest spot in the neighbourhood', which he had chosen to be his last resting-place.

Character of Bābur. Few warrior princes have left behind them a memory as pleasing as that of Bābur. Like all the kings of his family he loved literature and the society of polished and learned men. In his inimitable *Memoirs* he has drawn a living picture of himself, his virtues and vices, his wisdom and his folly, which stands almost alone in literature. Valiant, strong, and fearless beyond the common, he was no mere soldier, but is justly entitled to the higher praise due to a capable general. At times, no doubt, he allowed himself to display something of the bloodthirsty ferocity of his ancestors, but in general his conduct was marked by chivalrous generosity. He was a man of strong affections, and inspired by a tender, passionate admiration for the beauties of nature which is rare among the 'men of blood and iron'. For some years he, like many of his ancestors and descendants, allowed his noble qualities to be obscured by intemperance. His will, however, was strong enough to subdue his vice, and when he found himself committed to a life-and-death struggle with Rānā Sanga he broke his cups and rarely tasted wine again. But he missed his liquor sorely, and lamented in verse :

'Distraught I am since that I gave up wine ;
Confused, to nothing doth my soul incline.'

Humāyun. Humāyun, the eldest of his four sons, and designated by Bābur as his successor, was nominally master of an empire extending from the Karamnāsa on the frontier of Bengal to the Oxus, and from the Himālayas to the Narbadā. But he was obliged immediately to relinquish the Kābul and Panjāb territories to his next brother, Kāmrān, in practical independence, and had no firm hold of any part of his wide dominions. The Mogul Padshah at this time was merely the leader of a horde of foreign adventurers compelled continually to battle for existence against the leaders of earlier settled Moslem hordes and innumerable Hindu Rājās.


HUMĀYUN

Expulsion of Humāyun, 1540. Cut off from the north-western territories by Kāmrān's kingdom, Humāyun was placed between two strong powers—Gujarāt, under Bahādur, on the west, and Bihār, under Sher Khān, on the east. Early in his reign Humāyun defeated Bahādur and marched across his country to Cambay on the coast, but was recalled to meet the eastern danger, and Bahādur quickly recovered his kingdom. Sher Khān, the Afghan, who had made himself master of Bihār and the strong fortress of Rohtās, inflicted two crushing defeats on Humāyun, at Chausa on the Ganges near the mouth of the Karamnāsa (1539), and again in the following year at Kanauj. The last battle cost Humāyun his throne, which was occupied by his opponent under the title of Sher Shah (1540). As Sher Shah belonged to the Sūr tribe of

Afghans or Pathāns his dynasty is known by the name of Sūr. It is the fashion to regard him as a usurper, because in the end his rival won, but, as a matter of fact, Sher Shah had as good a right to the throne as Humāyun had. Neither had any right save that of the sword.

Exile of Humāyun. Humāyun now became a homeless wanderer. He tried in vain to obtain help from his brother Kāmrān, but that prince withdrew to Kābul, and left the Panjāb to Sher Shah. The exile then sought aid from the chiefs of Sind and the Hindu Rājā, Maldeo of Mārwār, without success. In the course of painful wanderings with a few followers through waterless desert Humāyun reached Umarkot in Sind, where, on 23 November 1542, his son Akbar (Mohammed Jalāl-ud-dīn) was born.[1] Thence the ex-king moved to Kandahār, then held by his brother Askarī under Kāmrān, and ultimately was obliged to throw himself on the mercy of Shah Tahmāsp of Persia. During these times the child Akbar underwent many dangers and was long separated from his father.

Sher Shah's government. Sher Shah, the new ruler, controlled Bihār and Bengal as well as North-western India, and waged successful war with Mālwā, but did not live long enough to establish a settled form of government, being killed in May 1545 by an explosion while besieging the fortress of Kālanjar in Bundelkhand. Sher Shah was something more than the successful leader of a swarm of plundering Afghans, and had some notion of civil government. He followed the example of the old Hindu sovereigns by laying out high-roads, planting them with trees, and providing the stages with accommodation for travellers. He repressed crime by

[1] 14 Sha'bān 949 A.H. = Thursday, 23 November 1542, as recorded by Jauhar, who was with Humāyun at the time. The official date, Sunday, 15 October (Old Style), given by Abu-l Fazl and other historians, was probably adopted in order to conceal the true time of the nativity, and so protect Akbar against witchcraft, as well as for other reasons. (*Indian Antiquary*, 1915, pp. 233-44.)

enforcing strictly the liability of the villagers for all offences committed within their borders. The punishments he inflicted were savage and terrifying. No man could expect favour by reason of his rank, and the king's rough justice was equal to all. No injury to the lands of cultivators was permitted. An elaborate system of revenue 'settlement', based on the measurement of lands, was devised, which served as the basis for the better-known measures of Rājā Todar Mall, Akbar's finance minister. The coinage, which had been in much disorder, was reformed, and silver rupees, excellent alike in purity and execution, were abundantly issued. Sher Shah erected many notable buildings. The tomb at Sahsarām, where he lies, is one of the finest monuments in India.

Islam (Salīm) Shah Sūr, 1545-54. Sher Shah was succeeded by his second son, Islam or Salīm, who managed to retain the throne for more than seven years, although not without continual dispute. He is reputed to have been an able man, but the times were too unsettled to permit him to make his mark. When he died his infant son, who was proclaimed king, was promptly murdered by his maternal uncle, Mubāriz Khān.

Mohammed Shah Ādil and other Sūr claimants. The murderer ascended the throne under the title of Mohammed Shah Ādil, the last word meaning 'just', being singularly inapplicable to a man who was a good-for-nothing sensualist. He can hardly be said to have reigned, because all power was in the hands of his minister Hēmū, a clever Hindu baniya of Mewāt, and Mohammed Ādil's right to the royal seat was contested by two relatives—Ibrāhīm, at Agra and Delhi, and Ahmad Khān, who took the title of Sikandar Shah, in the Panjāb.[1] Mohammed Shah Ādil withdrew to Chunar in the east. It is unnecessary to recount the details of the contests between these claimants.

[1] Hēmū evidently is the short colloquial form of some name like Hēmchand or Hēmrāj. Such short forms of names are commonly used in Northern India.

Return of Humāyun. Early in 1555, Humāyun, who had secured Persian help by conforming to the Shīah creed, crossed the Indus, his forces being commanded by Bairām Khān, a competent officer. The exiled king reoccupied Delhi in July 1555, but enjoyed his recovered throne for a few months only, losing his life in January 1556, by a fall from the stairs of his library.



TOMB OF HUMĀYUN, DELHI

Character of Humāyun. As a private gentleman Humāyun deserved nothing but praise. Like most members of his family, he was highly educated and deeply interested in literature and science, his special hobbies being mathematics and astronomy. As a king in troublous times he was not a success, and there is reason to believe that the weakness and instability of character which he displayed in the conduct of public affairs were largely due to his addiction to the vice of

opium-taking, which benumbed his will and energies. He was generous and merciful in disposition, and seems to have been almost free from the Mongol ferocity, flashes of which sometimes broke out even in Akbar.

CHAPTER XVII

European voyages to India: discovery of the Cape route; the Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, and English Companies: early settlements

Survey of early European settlements. Before entering on the story of the Mogul empire as established by Akbar it will be convenient to take a brief survey of the early European intercourse with and settlements in India, which began at the close of the fifteenth century and steadily developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the time of the glory of the 'Great Moguls'. Reference has been made to the victory gained by the Portuguese in 1509 over the combined fleets of Egypt and Gujarāt (*ante*, p. 126); and the frequent mention of the foreign settlers on the coasts in the following pages will be made more easily intelligible by the help of a connected account of their proceedings.

Discovery of the Cape route. Although in the early centuries of the Christian era the Roman merchants had been familiar with the navigation between the Red Sea and the Malabar coast, the Mohammedan occupation of Egypt in the seventh century completely closed all intercourse between Europe and the East through Egypt, and the trade by sea passed exclusively into Mohammedan hands. In the fifteenth century the European explorers, then very active, and having no hope of reopening the old Egyptian route, busied themselves with trying to discover a long sea route by sailing round Africa, a process commonly called 'doubling the Cape', that is to say,

sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. That process, now so easy, was difficult in the fifteenth century for sailing ships, commonly of less than one hundred tons burden. But in 1487 a Portuguese captain, Bartholomeu Diaz de Novaes, showed how the thing could be done.

Vasco da Gama at Calicut, 1498. Eleven years later, in the summer of 1498, another Portuguese officer, Vasco da Gama, following the track of Diaz, arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast with three little ships, and having done some trade with friendly Hindu princes, made his way back to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The king of Portugal, delighted at the prospect of acquiring the riches of the Indies, was arrogant enough to assume the title of 'Lord of the conquest, navigation, and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India'.



VASCO DA GAMA

Conquest of Goa; Albuquerque. Many other Portuguese expeditions followed, and gradually the foreigners succeeded in establishing either factories—that is to say, trading stations—or fortresses at Calicut, Cannanore, Goa, and other places on the western coast. They also occupied Ceylon, the island of Socotra near the entrance to the Red Sea, Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, and Malacca in the Far East. The basis of the Portuguese power was Goa, captured in 1510 by Albuquerque, the greatest of the Portuguese governors. The

strangers assumed full sovereign powers within the limits of the island of Goa, where they built a magnificent city, now desolate and in ruins, but still under the Portuguese flag. Albuquerque, who, like all his countrymen, hated Mohammedans with a bitter hatred, begotten of the long struggle in Europe between the Portuguese and the Moslem kingdom of Southern Spain, disgraced his victory at Goa by the massacre of the whole Mohammedan population, men, women, and children.

Albuquerque's administration of Goa. Albuquerque's cruelty was reserved for the followers of Islam, for, as an old Mohammedan writer puts it, 'he evinced no dislike towards the Nairs and other pagans of similar descriptions'. In the administration of the Goa district he made free use of Hindu officials and clerks, and established schools for the education of the latter. He also employed a force of sepoys, or native soldiers, and had the courage to prohibit absolutely the burning of widows as suttees, which continued to be lawful in British India until 1829.

The Portuguese empire and its decline. Although during almost the whole of the sixteenth century, up to 1595, the Portuguese were masters of the Eastern seas, and held the monopoly or sole control of the Indian sea-borne foreign trade, their power declined as quickly as it had risen, and before the date named had been much reduced. The destruction in 1565 of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, with which Goa did much business, was a serious blow to the prosperity of that city. The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in the person of Philip II in 1580 dragged the lesser kingdom into the Spanish wars with Holland and England, and the strain of keeping up a maritime empire in the East proved to be too great for the resources of so small a country as Portugal. Grave mistakes in policy also were made, of which the most fatal was the mad attempt to force all peoples in the Portuguese possessions to become Christians. Of course

the attempt failed, but while it lasted was attended by much cruelty and oppression. This blunder was the work of Albuquerque's successors, not of the 'Great Captain' himself. The small settlements at Goa, Damān, and Diu on the western coast are now all that is left of the Portuguese dominions in India.

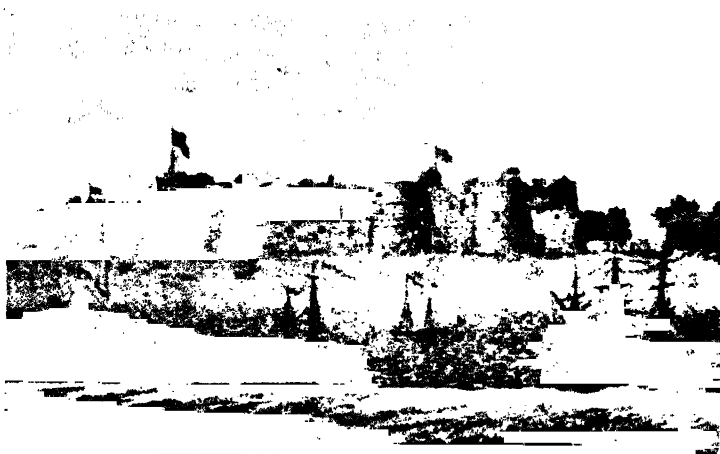
Dutch command of the Eastern seas. In the first half of the seventeenth century the command of the Eastern seas gradually passed to the Dutch, with whom it was disputed by the English. In 1602 all the Dutch private trading companies were combined under state patronage into 'The United East India Company of the Netherlands', which quickly became a rich and powerful corporation. At various dates the Portuguese settlements on the coast of India were attacked or occupied, and in 1658 the Dutch drove the Portuguese from Ceylon. But the centre of the Dutch power in the East always was in the Malay Archipelago rather than in India.

Danish settlements. Denmark made an effort to share in the profits of the Indian trade, and in 1620 founded a settlement at Tranquebar in the Tanjore District, where a mint was established. Later, Serampore near Calcutta was occupied. The Danes never made any deep impression on India, and in 1845 were content to sell their small settlements to the British Government.

Struggle between the Dutch and English. The struggle during the seventeenth century between the Dutch and the English for command of the Eastern seas and control of the sea-borne trade was long and severe. The general result was that the Dutch retained their leading position in the Malay Archipelago and Ceylon, but failed to attain considerable power in India. Their principal settlements on the mainland were at Pulicat and Tuticorin on the Coromandel coast and at Chinsūrah near Calcutta. Clive forced Chinsūrah to capitulate in 1759, and now nothing remains of the Dutch settlements except many tombs with quaint armorial bearings, and a few

old houses and small canals. During the Napoleonic wars Holland lost Ceylon and even Java, but that valuable possession was restored to her in 1816. Ceylon was retained by England, and was administered as a Crown colony until it attained Dominion status in 1948.

The Company's first charter ; Portuguese opposition. The first serious effort made by Englishmen to claim a share in the Eastern trade was marked on the last day of the year 1600 by the incorporation under charter from Queen Elizabeth



SURAT CASTLE

of the East India Company in its first form as 'The Governor and Company of Merchants *of London* trading into the East Indies'. The Portuguese and Dutch did their best to hinder the progress of their new rivals, but the Portuguese opposition was crushed by naval defeats inflicted on them in 1612 and 1615 off Swally (Suvāli) near Surat, and by the temporary occupation in 1622 of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. Cromwell, in 1654, forced the Portuguese to acknowledge by treaty England's right to trade in the Eastern seas.

Factory at Surat ; Sir Thomas Roe. The first English factory or trading station was established at Surat in 1608 and confirmed by Imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612. Three years later King James I of England sent out Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the Padshah Jahāngīr. Sir Thomas spent more than three years in India, and, although he failed to obtain the treaty which he asked for, was able to do a good deal to help his countrymen. He wrote a book giving a very interesting account of the character, court, and administration of Jahāngīr as they

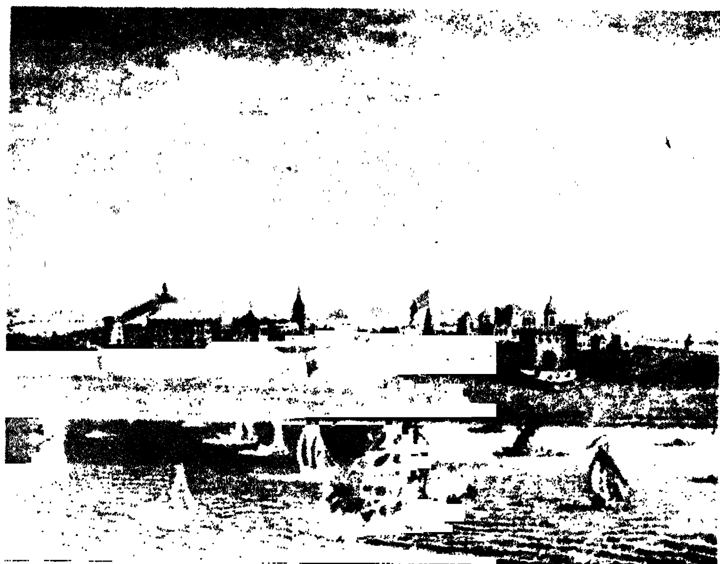


THE FORT, BOMBAY

appeared to an intelligent foreigner. Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry, also recorded his experience and observations in a quaint book.

English stations on the western coast ; Bombay. From time to time during the seventeenth century English trading stations, or factories, were established at various points on the Indian coasts, most of which have long since vanished. The cession by the Portuguese in 1661 of the island of Bombay as part of the dowry of Princess Catharine of Braganza, who married King Charles II of England, was

intended to check the Dutch power, and marks an important stage in the development of the Anglo-Indian empire. But so little was the future grandeur of Bombay foreseen that the king granted the island to the East India Company for ten pounds a year, equivalent in purchasing power to about two thousand rupees at the present time.



FORT ST GEORGE, MADRAS

The English settlement at Bombay made little progress during the eighteenth century. Most of the territory now governed from Bombay was acquired as the result of the Marāthā wars waged under the direction of the Marquess Wellesley and the Marquess of Hastings during the early years of the nineteenth century. Aden was taken in 1839, and Sind was added in 1843.

Growth of the Presidency of Madras. The purchase of the site of Madras in 1639 has been already mentioned (*ante*,

p. 138). The area so bought comprised only four square miles of 'a dreary waste of sand'. The next considerable piece of territory acquired by the Madras settlers was the *jāgīr*, now the Chingleput District, granted in perpetuity by the Nawāb of the Carnatic in 1763. The northernmost districts of the Madras Presidency, formerly known as the 'Northern Circars' (Sarkārs), were taken over in 1765, 1766, and 1788. Lord Wellesley annexed the dominions of the Nawāb of the Carnatic in 1801. The rest of the territory now controlled by the Government of Madras was mostly acquired as the result of the third and fourth Mysore wars, which ended respectively in 1792 and 1799.

English stations on the eastern coast ; Calcutta. The earliest English trading stations on the eastern coast were established about 1625 at Armagaon in the Nellore District and at Masulipatam in the Kistna (Krishnā) District. A few years later, about 1633, factories were founded at Balasore and an obscure place called Hariharpur in Orissa. In 1651 a settlement was made at Hūglī (Hooghly), official favour being won through the professional services rendered by a surgeon named Gabriel Boughton to the family of the Mohammedan governor of Bengal. Job Charnock, the chief of the station at Hūglī, tried to set up a branch establishment on the site of Calcutta in 1686, but was driven out by the hostility of Nawāb Shāyista Khān, Aurangzeb's uncle, and obliged to take refuge at Madras.[1] In 1690 he came back, under authority given by Aurangzeb, and definitely founded the small settlement which has grown into Calcutta, now the second largest city in the British Commonwealth.

Early history of Calcutta. The settlement founded by Job Charnock, who died in 1692 and lies buried in the cemetery of St John's Church, was at the village of Sūtānutī. Fortifications were erected by permission of the Nawāb of Bengal

[1] Shāyista Khān was transferred in 1663 from the Deccan to Bengal. He died in 1694, aged ninety-one, or ninety-three lunar years, at Agra.

in 1696, and the fort built a few years later was named Fort William, in honour of King William III, the reigning sovereign of England. During the eighteenth century the original fort was replaced by the present structure. About 1700 the Company purchased Sūtānutī with two other villages, Kalikāta and Govindpur, from Azīm-ush-shān, governor of Bengal, grandson of Aurangzeb, and father of the emperor Farrukhsīyar. The city which began to grow up on the sites of the three villages became known as Calcutta.



FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA

Important privileges are said to have been again secured to the settlers by means of services rendered by another surgeon, named Hamilton, to Farrukhsīyar. In 1742 the Marāthās under Bālājī Bājī Rāo Peshwā were at the height of their power, and their attitude was so threatening that the English obtained permission from Nawāb Allahvardi Khān to protect their settlement by an outer line of imperfect fortification, which remained for a long time famous as 'the Mahratta ditch'. It corresponds with the line of the modern Circular Road.

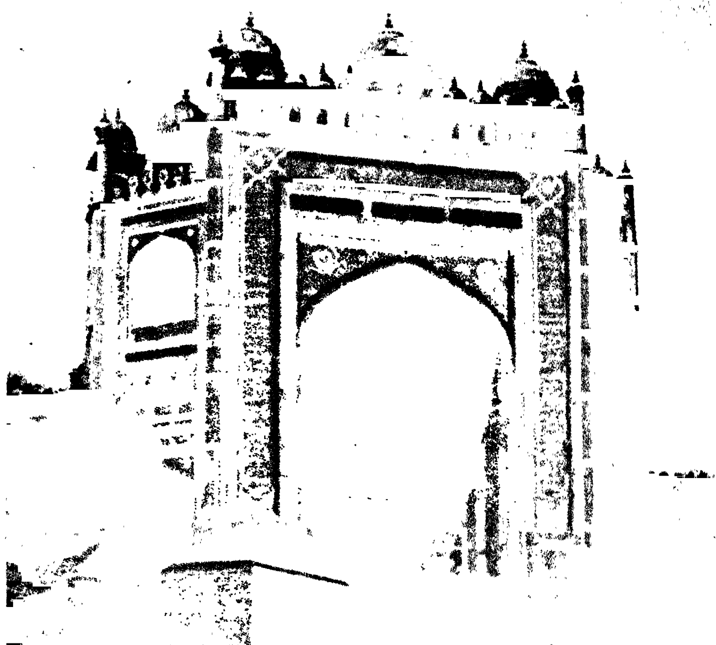
After the tragedy of the Black Hole in 1756 and the battle of Plassey in the following year, the history of Calcutta merges in that of British India. Its rank as the capital of the Indian empire dates from 1774, when Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General, and lasted until 1912, when the seat of the Government of India was moved to Delhi. In the seventeenth century the Bengal settlements had been subordinate to Madras, which was itself supposed to be dependent on Surat.

Early history of the East India Company. The Company, notwithstanding Queen Elizabeth's charter, had serious rivals in other associations of English merchants, and did not become really prosperous until 1661, when it obtained a fresh charter from Charles II, and was granted the rights of coinage and jurisdiction over English subjects in the East. But some thirty years later the Company again became involved in great difficulties, which lasted until 1702, when it was reconstructed as 'The United Company of Merchants *of England* trading to the East Indies'. The union of the rival companies was confirmed by Parliament in 1708.

The subsequent dealings of the Crown and Parliament with the Company will be noticed from time to time in the course of the historical narrative.

French settlements. The French were late in making their appearance on the Indian coasts, and never acquired direct control of any considerable territory. Various early adventures having proved to be failures, a strong association, entitled *La Compagnie des Indes*, was formed in 1664 under the patronage of King Louis XIV. But the French Government failed to keep up a lively interest in the company's affairs, and French enterprise in India always suffered for want of adequate support from home. However, Pondicherry on the Madras coast, founded in 1674, became a flourishing settlement, and still is a fairly prosperous town. After the Napoleonic wars the French were permitted to retain or

recover Pondicherry and Karikal on the Madras coast, Mahé on the west coast, Yanam at the mouth of the Godāvarī, and Chandernagore near Calcutta, over all of which the flag of



BULAND DARAWAZA, FATEHPUR SĪKRĪ

the French Republic still waves. These settlements are of no political importance. The events of the contest between the French and English for supremacy in Southern India will be dealt with as incidents in the general history.

CHAPTER XVIII

The reign of Akbar: Todar Mall; Abu-l Fazl

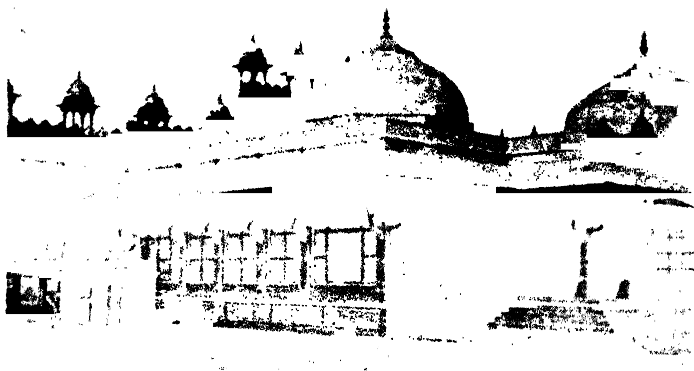
Accession of Akbar. When Humāyun died (*ante*, p. 153), his eldest son Akbar, a boy of thirteen, was in the Panjāb with his guardian Bairām Khān, an officer much trusted by Humāyun, and then in command of an army engaged in the pursuit of Sikandar Sūr, one of the claimants to the throne. Humāyun's death was concealed for a few days in order to allow of arrangements being made for Akbar's accession. The proper moment having come, the young prince was enthroned, with such ceremony as was possible, at Kalānaur, a town then of some importance, situated to the west of Gurdāspur.[1]

At the time of his enthronement Akbar had no kingdom News came in that Hēmū had succeeded in taking both Delhi and Agra. Hēmū renounced his allegiance to Mohammed Ādil Sūr, the other claimant to the throne, then far away to the east at Chunar near Mīrzāpur, and set up as an independent king, under the title of Rājā Bikramajit (Vikramāditya), borne so often by famous Hindu monarchs of the olden time. Timid counsellors advised retreat to Kābul, but Bairām Khān resolved that the empire of Hindustan was worth fighting for, and prepared to meet the foe. We may feel assured that Akbar agreed to the decision.

Second battle of Pānīpat, 5 November 1556. The Hindu claimant, 'with 1,500 elephants of war, and treasure without end or measure, and an immense army, came to offer battle at Pānīpat', on the field where Ibrāhīm Lodī and so many gallant men had met their death thirty years before (*ante*, p. 147). Hēmū began badly by losing his artillery, but

[1] The throne still exists. It is a plain brick structure, built on a masonry platform. At a later date it was surrounded by a garden and ornamental buildings, which were destroyed by railway contractors in search of ballast. Recently, measures have been taken to preserve reverently what is left, and an inscribed tablet has been put up.

relied chiefly, in the old Hindu fashion, on his elephants, which delivered a terrifying charge. They were received with a shower of arrows, one of which struck Hēmū in the eye, rendering him unconscious. His army then fled, and Hēmū, who still breathed, was captured. The boy Akbar refusing to flesh his sword on a dying prisoner, Bairām Khān and some of his officers dispatched him.[1] 'Nearly 1,500 elephants, and treasure and stores to such an amount that even fancy is



SALIM CHISHTI'S TOMB, FATEHPUR SĪKRĪ

powerless to imagine it, were taken as spoil.' A minaret was built of the heads of the slain, and Delhi and Agra were promptly occupied by the victors.

[1] The account of Hēmū's death in the text follows Badāonī (Lowe's transl., vol. II, p. 9). Abu-l Fazl, Fairī and the *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* agree that Akbar refused to strike. But Jahāngīr, in his authentic *Memoirs* (Rogers & Beveridge, vol. I, p. 40), states that Akbar 'told one of his servants to cut off his head'. Ahmad Yādgār (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, V, 66) asserts that 'the Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body'. De Laet agrees that 'the unworthy deed' was done by Akbar's hand (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, 1631, 2nd issue, p. 174). I now accept the version of Ahmad Yādgār and de Laet. See my paper, 'The Death of Hēmū', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1916.

Occupation of Ajmēr, Gwalior, and Jaunpur. Akbar was now firmly seated on the throne of the Sultāns of Delhi, which had been occupied for a few years by his father and grandfather, but he had yet many fights to wage before he could feel himself emperor of Hindustan. During the next three years the claimants belonging to the Sūr dynasty were defeated, and Ajmēr, Gwalior, and Jaunpur were occupied. Bairām Khān, with the title of Khān-i-Khānān, governed on behalf of Akbar as Regent or Protector.

Dismissal and death of the regent. In March 1560, young Akbar, conscious of the powers of budding manhood, and spurred on by the ladies of the court, determined to free himself from the control of his too-masterful regent, and sent a message to Bairām Khān, requiring him to proceed on pilgrimage to Mecca, in these terms: 'As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of state in your hands and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the pilgrimage to Mecca upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *jāgīr* out of the Parganas of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to your agent.' The regent yielded to this imperious command and surrendered the insignia of office, but, on second thoughts, attempted rebellion. He was defeated, pardoned, and sent off to Mecca. He arrived at Pātan in Gujarāt, and was there stabbed to death by an Afghan, whose father had been executed by his orders. Thus was Akbar freed from his Bismarck, and left at liberty for forty-five years to carry out his policy of converting a military occupation into an ordered empire.

Akbar's wars. But when we speak of an 'ordered empire' we must not think of a country as peaceful as the India of modern times. Throughout Akbar's long reign the sword was never sheathed, and the great nobles were never at rest. The

detailed chronicles of the time are full of stories of intrigues, murders, rebellions, and wars. Akbar himself, although terrible in his hot wrath, was of a merciful and forgiving disposition, and rarely allowed himself to be tempted to the commission of deeds of cruelty. His generals often displayed the old Mongol ferocity, and even Badāonī, who was not easily shocked, was horrified at the bloodthirsty proceedings of Pīr Mohammed Khān during the reduction of Mālwā in the early years of the reign. The main interest of Akbar's notable rule lies, not in his numerous wars, which were like other wars, but in his personal character and his unique policy.

Siege of Chitor, 1567-8. Among the most famous military feats of the reign was the storming of the Rājpūt fortress of Chitor (*ante*, p. 127), the siege of which lasted for four months, from October 1567 to February 1568. The operations of the besiegers were under the personal direction of Akbar, who himself shot the Rājpūt commander, Jaimall, through the head. That shot decided the fate of the fortress. The defenders quitted the walls, and saved the honour of their wives and daughters by the awful rite of *jōhar*, or sacrifice by fire. Then they devoted themselves to death, fighting in every house and for every foot of ground, until they were all slain. The Rānā was not in the fortress during the siege, but remained in hiding, and subsequently transferred his capital to Udaipur. Within the following two years Akbar compelled the surrender of Ranthambhor in Rājputāna and Kālanjar in Bundelkhand, then considered two of the strongest forts in India.

Reduction of Gujarāt. The next great military operation undertaken was the conquest of Gujarāt, which had long been independent (*ante*, p. 126), and was occupied only temporarily by Humāyun in 1535. But that transitory conquest effected by his father was enough to give Akbar a pretext for an effort to re-annex the kingdom; and so to make himself master of

Western India to the sea-coast. The imperial designs were furthered by dissensions among the local nobles. The annexation was carried out without very much fighting, and the unheroic king, Muzaffar Shah, was found hiding in a cornfield. He was treated with contemptuous lenity and given a pension of thirty or forty rupees a month. After some years he escaped and gave much trouble until he committed suicide.

Surat ; suppression of revolt, 1573. The important fortress of Surat was taken in the early part of 1573, after investment for a month and a half. On this occasion the emperor for the first time came into contact with the Portuguese, who sent an embassy from Goa to meet him. At Cambay he had his first look at the sea. In June Akbar returned to Sīkrī near Agra, and was hardly back when reports were received of a revolt in the newly conquered kingdom. He made all necessary military arrangements with the utmost quickness, and starting himself from Sīkrī in August, mounted on a swift dromedary, covered the eight hundred miles between that place and the outskirts of Ahmadabad in nine days. The rebels, who could hardly believe the news of his arrival, were defeated after a hard fight, and Akbar returned to Sīkrī on 6 October, after an absence of forty-three days. It would be difficult to find in history an example of equally rapid and decisive action by the sovereign of a great monarchy. Sīkrī was given the name of Fatehpur, ' the city of victory ', and became the usual residence of the court until 1585.

Dāūd, king of Bengal. Bengal, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 124), had been independent, usually under Mohammedan kings, since the fourteenth century. Sulaiman, an able monarch, whose general, Rājū, surnamed Kālā Pahār, had plundered the temple of Jagannāth and overrun Orissa, acknowledged a nominal dependence on Akbar. When he died in 1572 he was succeeded, after an interval of dispute, by his son Dāūd, who was not disposed to submit to the Mogul power. He is described as ' a dissolute scamp, who knew

nothing of the business of governing'. Akbar, while engaged in Gujarāt, kept his eye on the affairs of Bengal, and as soon as he had arranged the business in the west, commissioned Todar Mall to undertake the subjugation of the east.

Defeat and death of Dāūd, 1576. In 1574, during the height of the rainy season, Akbar in person appeared on the scene near Patna, defeated Dāūd, and occupied Patna, where immense booty was taken. Dāūd escaped into Orissa, and at the beginning of 1575 Akbar returned to Fatehpur Sīkrī. Soon afterwards the king of Bengal was forced to consent to do homage and pay tribute, but quickly broke his engagements. Next year (July 1576) he was captured by the imperial officers and put to death. Thus ended the independent kingdom of Bengal. But when historians speak of independent Bengal, the phrase must be understood as referring only to the independence of the kingdom from the control of the rulers of Delhi and Agra. In those days the Hindu population of the province was of little account, and possessed no authority, the kings and chiefs who fought the Sultāns and Padshahs of the north-west being usually foreign chiefs of Afghan origin.

Rājpūt rising; battle of Gogūnda, 1576. During the progress of the operations in Bengal the emperor's forces had to contend with a formidable uprising in Rājputāna, under the leadership of Rānā Partāb Singh of Udaipur. He was defeated in June 1576 by Mān Singh at Gogūnda (also known as Haldighāt), north of Udaipur, in a hotly contested battle, vividly described by the historian Badāonī, who took an active part in it. Arrangements were made to curb the Rājpūts by building fifty blockhouses (*thānas*) in the hills, but the Udaipur country was never really subdued. In fact, Partāb Singh gradually recovered possession of most of his country before Akbar's death.

Result of twenty years' war. In 1576, twenty years after the second battle of Pānīpat, Akbar had succeeded in making

himself the lord paramount of all India proper to the north of the Vindhyas, exacting a more or less complete and willing obedience from innumerable turbulent feudatories. But fighting never ceased, and the imperial generals had much to do in Bengal and Bihār until 1586. Those provinces were not wholly quieted until 1592.

Revolt of Bengal and Bihār in 1580. A serious rebellion in Bengal, which began in 1580, was caused partly by the anger of the Mohammedan nobles at the harsh measures of the imperial officials, who cut down their revenue-free grants, and partly by resentment against Akbar's growing hostility to Islam. That hostility, which had its root in his early studies of Sūfism, may be said to have become marked from 1574 when Abu-l Fazl came to court, and to have come to a head in 1579 when Akbar compelled the leading theologians to admit the right of the emperor to pass rulings on matters of religion. That remarkable decree will be cited in full presently. It is mentioned here because it was closely connected with the revolt of Bengal and other disturbances. The rebels in Bengal desired to replace Akbar by his more orthodox half-brother, Mohammed Hakīm of Kābul. Ultimately the Bengal rebellion was suppressed.

Absorption of Kābul, 1585. Mohammed Hakīm Mīrzā, who was born at Kābul in 1554, and so was twelve years junior to Akbar, had been recognized from infancy as the nominal ruler of the Kābul province, which was actually administered by various nobles in succession, apparently in practical independence. In 1581 Mohammed Hakīm, who had hopes of winning his brother's Indian throne, invaded the Panjāb, but was repulsed and obliged to accept Akbar's suzerainty. His death, due to drink, in July 1585, enabled Akbar to include Kābul in his dominions as a Sūba or province.

Lahore Akbar's capital for thirteen years. The death of his brother and other pressing affairs made it necessary for the emperor to move towards the north-west. Starting from

Fatehpur Sīkrī in the autumn of 1585, he reached Attock (Atak-Banāras) towards the end of December. He remained in the north until November 1598, making Lahore his capital for nearly thirteen years. At the end of 1585 four imperial armies were in motion, directed severally against the tribesmen in the Khyber Pass on the road to Kābul, the Yūsufzī of the Peshāwar country, the Balōchis, and Kashmīr, which kingdom Akbar was resolved to annex. Early in 1586 the force operating against the Yūsufzī suffered a severe defeat, the slain including Rājā Bīrbal, the Brahmin, one of Akbar's dearest and most intimate friends. The tribesmen were sternly chastised, but not subdued.

Conquest of Kashmīr, 1586-7 ; and Sind. From the time of Bābur, the Mogul sovereigns of India had felt a desire to possess the delightful valley of Kashmīr, but neither Bābur nor Humāyun had leisure to undertake the conquest of the country. A cousin of Bābur's, Haidar Mīrzā Doghlat, the celebrated author of the history entitled *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, made himself master of it, and ruled well and wisely for eleven years, until 1551. In 1572 the reigning king, also a Moslem, made a formal recognition of the supremacy of Akbar by consenting that his name should be recited as that of the sovereign in the public prayers. But then, and for many years afterwards, Akbar was far too busy in Gujarāt, Bengal, and elsewhere to be able to attend to Kashmīr. He could not attempt the conquest of the mountain kingdom until he had made his position in the plains fairly safe. When he was free to make the attempt, a pretext for interference was easily found. The occupation was effected by Akbar's generals without excessive difficulty in 1586-7, and from that time Kashmīr became an integral part of the Mogul empire, attached to the Sūba of Kābul. A little later, after a tedious campaign, the province of Sind, partially subdued in 1588, was finally conquered, and united with the Sūba of Multān. Kandahār was taken from the Persians in 1595.

Result of forty years' wars. By 1596 Akbar was master of the whole of Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal on the east to the Arabian Sea on the west, as well as of the Indus valley, and the greater part of the present kingdom of Afghanistan. The conquest of the south remained. But that great design was not destined to be accomplished, except to a small extent.

Preparations for invasion of the Deccan. Akbar's long-cherished designs on the Deccan were much aided by the dissensions of the local princes and nobles, who were unable to form a firm league among themselves to withstand the common foe. The ordinary political strife was made more bitter by sectarian quarrels of the Shīah with the Sunnī Mohammedans. In 1591 Akbar sent embassies to the four kingdoms of the Deccan, Khāndesh, Bijāpur, Golkonda or Hyderabad, and Admadnagar, to demand recognition of his authority. The Sultān of the small state of Khāndesh submitted readily, and thus secured for the emperor free passage by the Burhānpur and Asīrgarh road, but the other kingdoms refused to do homage.

Siege of Ahmadnagar, 1595. Traitorous invitations smoothed the path of the Moguls, and in December 1595 the emperor's second son, Prince Murād, invested Ahmadnagar. The imperialist operations were weakened by discord between the prince and his colleague, Abdurrahīm Khān-i-Khānān, the son of Bairām Khān, regent in Akbar's youth. The defence was heartened by the gallantry of a woman, Chānd Bībī, a lady of the royal house, rightly called Chānd Sultān, who donned armour, and sword in hand held the breach made by the besiegers' mines. The attempt to storm failed, and Murād withdrew when Chānd Bībī agreed to cede Berār.

Fall of Ahmadnagar, 1600. In the autumn of 1600, Chānd Bībī meantime having been murdered, Ahmadnagar was again besieged and taken by Prince Dāniyāl, Akbar's youngest son.

The emperor formally constituted a new Sūba, or government, under the name of Ahmadnagar, but, as a matter of fact, the greater part of the kingdom remained under the rule of members of the local royal family, and was not really annexed until 1637, in the reign of Shahjahān.

Siege and capture of Asīrgarh, January 1601. Meantime, the little state of Khāndesh, which had been friendly to Akbar in 1591, had become hostile in consequence of local revolutions. The ruler of this kingdom possessed the stronghold of Asīrgarh, situated north-east of Burhānpur on a spur of the Sātpura range, and thus commanded the main road to the Deccan. The capture of this fortress, the strongest in India, was necessary for the progress and safety of the imperial army. The siege accordingly was begun early in 1600 and lasted for more than eleven months, until January 1601 (Ilāhī year 45), when Akbar, unable to storm the place, gained possession of it by bribery. In 1819 the same fortress surrendered to Sir John Malcolm after a bombardment of twenty-four days.

The last of Akbar's conquests. The taking of Ahmadnagar and Asīrgarh closes the long roll of the victories of Akbar, who was unable to make further progress in the subjugation of the south. His force was now spent, and the record of the last four years of his strenuous life leaves on the mind a painful impression of disillusion, disappointment, sorrow, and failure. Akbar returned to Agra during the year which witnessed the fall of Asīrgarh, leaving his youngest son Dāniyāl as viceroy of the southern and western provinces. Khāndesh was renamed Dāndesh in compliment to the prince.

Akbar's unworthy sons. Prince Dāniyāl, a good-for-nothing, drunken sot, was undeserving of the paternal favour, and died from the effects of drink a year and a half before his father passed away. The same vice had destroyed Prince Murād five years earlier. The eldest son, Prince Salīm, although equally intemperate, had a stronger constitution than his brothers, and survived to become the successor of Akbar.

Rebellion of Prince Salīm. Salīm, in accordance with many evil precedents, was eager to anticipate the course of nature and usurp his father's place. Akbar, well informed concerning his traitorous designs, endeavoured to keep him employed by commissions to hunt down rebels in Rājputāna and Bengal, but the prince would neither come to court nor proceed to execute the imperial orders. He continued to sulk and play the tyrant at Allahabad, and at last, in 1601, there assumed the imperial titles and took possession of the treasures of Bihār.



PRINCE SALĪM

Murder of Abu-l Fazl by order of Salīm. A little later, in August 1602, Salīm inflicted a deadly wound on his father's feelings by causing a Bundela robber-chieftain to waylay and murder Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, the guide, philosopher and friend of the emperor. 'If Salīm', said Akbar, 'wished to be emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abu-l Fazl.'. Ultimately, through the mediation of Sultān Salīmah Begam, widow of the regent Bairām Khān, who long before had become one of Akbar's many consorts, a peace was patched up, and Salīm was induced to come to court.

Salīm nominated as successor. By this time, Akbar, much affected by the death of his youngest, and the ingratitude of his first-born son, and further weakened by indulgence in the dangerous consolations of opium, was failing visibly. Rājā Mān Singh and several other influential nobles, who

dreaded the assumption of absolute power by Salīm, sought to set him aside and substitute his son Khusrū. But these schemes came to naught. No account written by an eye-witness of the last days of Akbar exists. The long story usually quoted is that told in the so-called *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* as translated by Price, a document largely falsified and wholly without authority. The best evidence is that of the Dutch writer van den Broecke (in de Laet), 1628 or 1629, who based his work on an official chronicle. He states that

> 'the King, while hopes of his recovery still existed, was visited by Prince Salīm, on whose head he placed his own turban, girding him at the same time with the sword of his own father, Humāyun.'

That simple statement may be accepted as probably true. Assuming its truth, the failure of the plot in favour of Khusrū is explained by the natural unwillingness of the nobles to defy the expressed will of the great monarch whom they had obeyed for so long.

Death of Akbar. Akbar, then almost sixty-three solar years of age, died at Agra on 17 October 1605, in the presence of a crowd of anxious nobles. Salīm does not seem to have been present. The partisans of Khusrū made a feeble attempt to put their candidate forward, but Rājā Rāmdās declared for Salīm and settled the question by posting a strong guard of Rājpūt cavalry over the immense treasure in the fort, which included nearly two hundred million rupees' worth of coin, in addition to great sums stored in six other fortresses.[1] Salīm's succession was thus secured. On the third day Rājā Mān Singh and the Khān-i-Azam

[1] Akbar died on 27 October, New Style (du Jarric, Latin tr., II, 495; III, 131); = 17 October, Old Style, as reported by Jerome Xavier, then in Agra; = 14 Jumāda II, A. H. 1014; on Wednesday-Thursday night by Mohammedan, Thursday a.m. by European reckoning. The Portuguese adopted the New Style or reformed calendar from 5-15 October 1582. In the seventeenth century the difference between the Old and New Styles was ten days. Asad Beg (E. & D., VI, 171) and du Jarric support de Laet's account. Manrique and de Laet give the official treasure inventory.

effected an outward, though insincere, reconciliation between Khusrū and his father. It is interesting to note that the fulfilment of Akbar's will was due to the trusty Rājpūts on whose devotion he had relied for so many years. Before attempting to estimate the character of India's greatest sovereign since the time of Asoka, we must devote a few pages to a consideration of his policy and innovations, and to the enumeration of the leading men among his chosen advisers and friends.

Principle of Akbar's conquests. The summary chronicle recorded in the foregoing narrative, if it stood alone without comment, would naturally lead the reader to regard Akbar merely as a specially able king of the ordinary aggressive type. But, although no doubt he accepted the current opinion that a respectable monarch is bound to enlarge his dominions, Akbar the victorious kept before his mind a purpose higher than that of mere ambition. It is clearly apparent that at an early stage in his career he formed a plan for bringing all India under his sole government in such a way that all races, native and foreign, Hindu as well as Moslem, might be brought to work together for the common good. He believed himself to be the vicegerent of the Most High, and as such empowered to give India a better government than her own sons could provide.

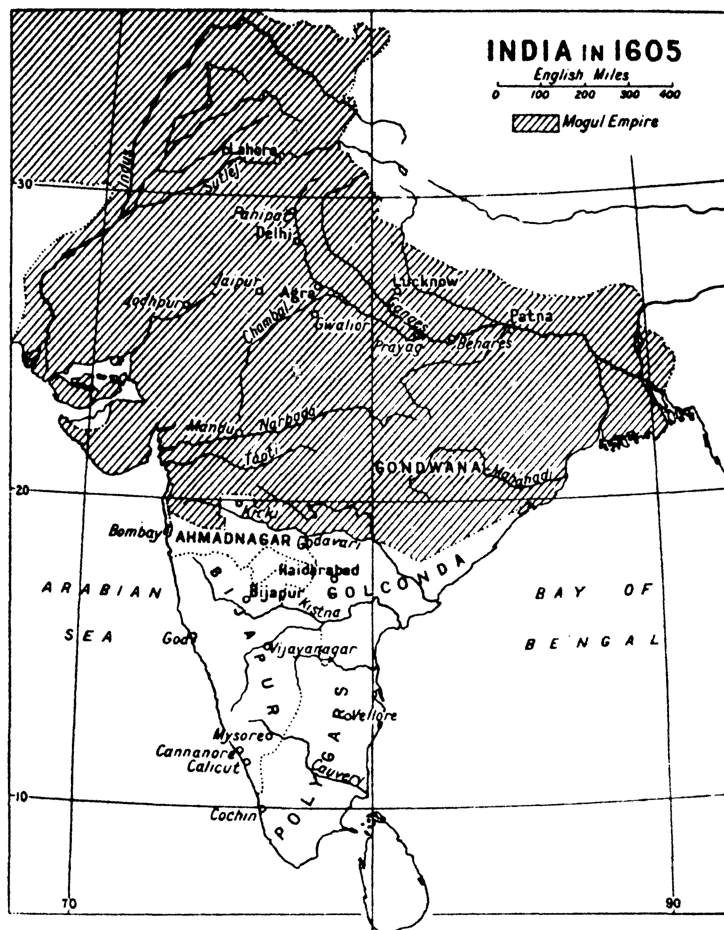
Abolition of the *jizya*. As early as the ninth year of his reign, when he was a young man twenty-two years of age, and long before he came under the influence of the free-thinkers, Faizī and Abu-l Fazl, Akbar had abolished the *jizya*, or special poll-tax imposed on non-Mohammedans, which was intensely galling to the Hindus forming the great majority of the population. That measure alone, which was supplemented later by the abolition of the tax on pilgrimages, is enough to prove that Akbar in early youth realized that he, a foreigner, could not build up a stable empire without the aid of the indigenous civilization.

Marriages with Rājpūt princesses; Hindu friends. The royal marriages with Rājpūt princesses, perhaps following the example of Humāyun, who is said to have had one Hindu consort, were arranged on the same principle, and all the leading states, except Mewār, sent daughters to court. The emperor Jahāngīr was the son of a princess of Jaipur. Several of Akbar's most trusted officers and intimate friends were Hindus. Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Jaipur and Rājā Mān Singh of the same state fought valiantly by his side even against Rājpūts and were raised to the highest dignities. Mān Singh governed in succession the great provinces of Kābul and Bengal. Another dear Hindu friend of the emperor was a Brahmin musician of Kālpī named Mahēsh Dās,[1] known to history as Rājā Bīrbal, the reputed author of many wise and witty sayings still current, whom even Badāonī admits to have been 'possessed of a considerable amount of capacity and genius'. He lost his life in battle with the Yūsufzī tribesmen (*ante*, p. 172).

Rājā Todar Mall and land 'settlement'. Rājā Todar Mall, a Khatri from Oudh and a devout Hindu, who rendered good service as a general in the Khyber and Peshāwar country, is chiefly remembered for his revenue administration and system of land settlement, based on foundations laid by Sher Shah (*ante*, p. 152), and serving in its turn as the basis of the existing system in Upper India. He caused a detailed survey of the land and elaborate calculations of the average produce and the Government's share of the same to be made. The collections were ordinarily made in cash. The 'settlements', or contracts with the landholders, at first annual, were subsequently extended for an indefinite period.

Sūbas, Sarkārs. For administrative purposes the empire was divided into fifteen Sūbas, or local governments, namely, Agra, Ahmadabad, Ajmēr, Allahabad, Bengal (including

[1] Badāonī calls him Gadāī Brahma Dās, but his real name was Mahēsh Dās.



Orissa), Bihār, Delhi, Kābul (including Kashmīr), Lahore, Mālwā, Multān (including Sind), and Oudh, with the addition of Ahmadnagar (*ante*, p. 174), Berār, and Khāndesh or Dāndesh, in the Deccan, late in the reign. The Sūbas were divided into more than a hundred Sarkārs, or districts, subdivided into Parganas or Mahāls, which were grouped into

Dastūrs for certain fiscal purposes. For example, the Sūba of Agra included 13 Sarkārs and 203 Parganas, the Sarkār of Agra, 1,864 square miles in area, comprising 31 Parganas, grouped in 4 Dastūrs. The Sūbadār, or Sipāh-sālār, the governor of a Sūba, was either a prince of the blood or other great noble, vested with practically unlimited powers, subject to the obligation of providing men and money for the needs of the empire.

Mansabdārs. The executive officials, who all ranked as military officers, however employed, were called Mansabdārs, classified in thirty-three grades, regulated nominally by the number of horsemen supposed to be supplied by the officers. The grades ranged from commands of ten thousand to those of ten. The Mansabdārs drew pay in proportion to their rank, and in practice had not to furnish the number of men indicated by their grade. The highest grades were reserved for members of the imperial family. The grading of Mansabdārs, borrowed from Persia, was organized as a regular system by Akbar in 1573-4. Many officials held grants of land or fiefs (*jāgīrs*), subject to conditions of service. Free grants to men of reputed sanctity or learning were called Sayūrghāls.

Finance and army. The mainstay of the imperial treasury, as always in India, was the land revenue, or Crown rent, the State's share of the produce, paid in either kind or cash. The land revenue in 1600 is estimated to have amounted to about nineteen million pounds sterling, and the customs and miscellaneous revenue to about as much again, but the figures are open to doubt. Many taxes were remitted by Todar Mall.

The army was chiefly a cavalry militia raised by the Mansabdārs and Jāgīrdārs, who were much addicted to making false returns. Akbar tried to correct such abuses, but with only partial success. The standing, or permanently enrolled, army was small, twenty-five thousand men in the latter part of the reign, of whom about half were troopers, the rest being gunners and infantry. The practice of enslaving prisoners of war was forbidden in 1563.

Āīn-i-Akbari and Abu-l Fazl. The imperial regulations concerning the court and every department of the administration are recorded in detail in the unique work of Abu-l Fazl entitled *Āīn-i-Akbari*, or 'Institutes of Akbar', which forms part of the *Akbarnāma* or 'History of the Reign of Akbar'. Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, who was introduced to Akbar in 1574, was one of the most learned men of his age, and is still remembered as 'the great munshī'. He was the most influential of Akbar's councillors, and the emperor's gradual estrangement from Islam was largely due to his intimacy with Abu-l Fazl and his equally learned and freethinking brother, Shaikh Faizī, who had come to court six years earlier. The nature of Abu-l Fazl's philosophy may be gathered from the following lines composed by him:

'O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee! . . .
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian church, people ring the bell from love of Thee,
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search for from temple to temple.'

Akbar's loss of faith. The teaching of Abu-l Fazl and his brother was only one of the influences which shook the faith of Akbar. As a boy he had been attracted by the heretical mysticism of the Sūfī poet Hāfiz, closely akin to certain Hindu doctrines, and from an early age he had been much in company with Hindus. His marriages with Hindu princesses, who practised their religious rites within the palace, gave ample opportunities for filling him with Hindu notions. Akbar, while extremely curious about religious problems, found it hard to accept any definite creed. He delighted in hearing the arguments of rival Christian, Hindu, Moslem, Jain and Zoroastrian teachers, but would never declare himself the disciple of any one guide.

Akbar and Christianity. The arrival of two Jesuits in Bengal in 1576 first drew the attention of the emperor to Christianity. He became much interested, and asked the Portuguese at Goa to send him learned theologians. They complied gladly and dispatched three separate missions which stayed at court respectively from 1580 to 1583, from 1590 to 1591, and from 1595 to the end of the reign, and later. The Jesuits at one time had good hopes of converting Akbar, but he only played with them, and was never in real earnest. The story, when read in detail, is of fascinating interest.

Akbar's supremacy in religious matters. Although Akbar could not make up his mind which, if any, of the rival religions was true, he decided quite clearly that Islam was false. That conviction may be dated from about 1579. In that year he forced the leading maulavis, or Mohammedan theologians, to sign a decree declaring the binding force of an imperial ruling on any religious question. The enacting part of the decree runs as follows :

'Further, we declare that the king of Islam, Amīr of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world—Abu-l-fath Jalāl-ud-dīn Mohammed Akbar Padshah Ghāzī—whose kingdom God perpetuate ! is a most just, a most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the mujtahids [theologians] are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions existing on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.'

'Further, we declare that should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Koran, but also of real benefit to the nation ; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.'

Akbar thus assumed a position similar to that taken up by Henry VIII of England when he established the royal supremacy over the English Church, by virtue of which he ventured to deal with matters of faith, as defined in the Ten Articles of 1536.

Hostility to Islam. From the date of the decree onwards Akbar showed open hostility to Islam, and issued a multitude of orders which violated his declared principle of toleration for all forms of belief.

For instance, the public prayers and call to prayers were stopped, the Ramazān fast and the Mecca pilgrimage were forbidden. In short, as Badāonī puts it, 'every command and direction of Islam whether special or general . . . all were doubted and ridiculed.' Wanton insults to Mohammedan feeling were offered, as, for example, mosques were turned into stables, the name of Mohammed was proscribed, and so forth.

It is a wonder that Akbar did not lose his throne. The fact that he did not is the best proof possible of the immense personal power which he exercised over the minds of men.

Akbar, having tried all creeds, found defects in every one of them. He therefore thought that he could form an eclectic religion which combined the good points of all.

In the words of the poet, he sought

> To gather here and there
> From each fair plant, the blossom choicest grown,
> To wreathe a crown, not only for the King,
> But in due time for every Mussalman,
> Brahmin and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
> Through all the warring world of Hindustan.

Akbar was, no doubt, really in earnest in his endeavour. Not only did he wish to found an ideal religion, but he desired to find a common basis of worship for all his subjects, and to heal those unhappy dissensions of caste and creed which long prevented India from becoming a nation. It was a noble dream, but an impossible one. Akbar thought that,

as autocratic ruler of a vast empire, he could do as he chose. But even a despot cannot alter the deep-seated religious beliefs of millions of people, and his attempt was foredoomed to failure. Only a few courtiers and personal friends joined his new Faith, which he called the Divine Unity (*Tauhīd Ilāhī*) or Divine Faith (*Dīn Ilāhī*). It laid stress on the unity of God, and half deified the Padshah as his vicegerent on earth.

Literature and art. Akbar resembled most of the members of his family in enjoying and patronizing literature and art. As a boy he had steadily refused to learn his lessons, and to the end of his days was absolutely ignorant of reading and writing. He could not even read or sign his own name. But he kept other people busy reading to him continually, and so learned by the ear more than most men can learn by the eye. He had a marvellously strong memory and an extremely keen understanding.

He collected an enormous library, comprising twenty-four thousand manuscripts, valued at nearly six and a half million rupees. The high valuation, working out at about two hundred and seventy rupees, then equal to thirty pounds sterling, a volume, was due to the employment of the most famous scribes to write the texts, and the most skilled artists to illustrate the contents and bind the books. A few volumes have escaped destruction, and many works by the artists employed are extant.

In the seventh year of his reign Akbar compelled the Rājā of Rīwā (Bhath) to send to court Tānsēn, the poet and musician. Abu-l Fazl says that such a singer had not been known in India for a thousand years.

The excellent imperial taste in architecture is best attested by the numerous beautiful buildings still standing at Fatehpur Sīkrī. Akbar lavished huge sums on building that city, which was occupied for a few years only.

Character of Akbar. Although Akbar cannot be described as 'a mixture of opposites', like Mohammed bin Tughlak or

Jahāngīr, his nature was complex, and not easy to understand. He was a very human man, not a saint, and was not free from serious faults and frailties. The portrait drawn by most historians—all light with no shadow—is false. In the early years of his reign, after the fall of Bairām Khān, he was in the hands of bad advisers, including the scoundrel Pīr Mohammed, who was allowed to commit appalling cruelties in Mālwā without censure, so far as appears. Towards the close of the reign, when Akbar had exercised uncontrolled power for some forty years, and his generous nature had become to a certain extent corrupted, he committed various foolish and unworthy acts, especially the deliberate insults to Islam mentioned above. He had previously acquired the evil opium habit, which probably shortened his life. In earlier days he sometimes drank more than was good for him.

The Jesuits, who give by far the best personal descriptions, rightly praise Akbar's zeal and care in the administration of justice. It must be understood that the justice was of the bloody, ferocious kind then in fashion, and that men were commonly impaled, torn to pieces by elephants, and mutilated. Akbar, however, does not seem to have taken pleasure in witnessing such scenes, as Jahāngīr and Shahjahān did.

Akbar's vanity was, perhaps, his weakest point, as may be learnt from the critical pages of Badāonī. His insatiable curiosity led him into absurd positions from time to time.

Nevertheless, when all that can be said against him has been said, it remains true that Akbar was one of the greatest of kings, comparable in India with Asoka alone, and fully worthy to stand as an equal beside his European contemporaries Elizabeth of England (1558-1603) and Henry IV of France (1593-1610).

He possessed exceptional bodily strength, and courage as undaunted as that of Alexander of Macedon. His fights in Gujarāt and his nine days' ride to Ahmadabad were heroic performances.

The Jesuit accounts. Space does not permit me to quote in full the vivid Jesuit accounts of Akbar as he was in 1582, when forty years of age, but a few of their phrases must be cited. In eating he was ordinary and simple to a notable degree. He was a man of excellent parts with much judgement, prudence, and intelligence, and exceedingly sagacious He was also very magnanimous and generous, pleasant-mannered and kindly, while still preserving his gravity and sternness. There was nothing that he knew not how to do, whether matters of war, or administration, or the mechanical arts. He rarely lost his temper, but his occasional outbursts of wrath were terrible. He was ready to forgive, being naturally gentle, humane, and kind. 'In truth', we are told, 'he was great with the great, and lowly with the lowly.' It was not easy to find the clue to his thoughts, because, although apparently free from mystery and guile, he was in reality close and self-contained.[1]

That picture, even when thus drawn in bare outline, is a noble one.

Akbar's deeds as a conqueror and administrator stand out clearly on the page of history. He was the real founder of the Mogul empire, and succeeded in establishing an authority which nothing could shake during his lifetime. He took the broad views of a true statesman. He knew how to choose, use, and keep loyal servants. His policy of toleration for all religions was wholly his own, unknown in Europe or Mohammedan Asia in his days.

The stately eulogy bestowed by Wordsworth on a hero now obscure may be applied fitly to Akbar the Great :

'Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
Stand in the spacious firmament of time,
Fixed as a star ; such glory is thy right.'

[1] Translated from various passages in the Italian of Peruschi and Bartoli.

Chronology of Akbar's Reign

Death of Humāyun, accession of Akbar	Jan.	1556
Second battle of Pānīpat ; defeat and death of Hēmū	Nov.	1556
Occupation of the Panjāb		1556
Assumption of full authority by Akbar	March	1560
Abolition of the *jizya* tax		1565
Siege of Chitor		1567-8
Foundation of Fatehpur Sīkrī		1569
Reduction of Gujarāt		1573
Capture of Surat ; suppression of revolt in Gujarāt ; completion of fort at Agra		1573
Introduction of Abu-l Fazl at court		1574
Conquest of Bengal and Bihār ; death of Dāūd		1574-6
Rājpūt rising ; battle of Gogūnda		1576
Decree making Akbar head of the Church		1579
Death of Mohammed Hakīm ; absorption of Kābul		1585
Akbar's capital at Lahore		1585-98
Defeat of Rājā Bīrbal by the Yūsufzi		1586
Conquest of Kashmīr		1586-7
Conquest of Sind		1588-90
Embassies to the kingdoms of the Deccan		1591
Annexation of Kandahār		1595
Defence of Ahmadnagar by Chānd Bībi		1595
Famine in Hindustan		1595-8
Death of Prince Murād		1599
Fall of Ahmadnagar		1600
Capture of Asīrgarh		1601
Rebellion of Prince Salīm ; murder of Abu-l Fazl		1602
Death of Akbar	Oct.	1605

CHAPTER XIX

The reigns of Jahāngīr and Shahjahān; Sir Thomas Roe; Bernier; Mogul architecture

Accession of Jahāngīr; rebellion of Khusrū. Prince Salīm, then in the thirty-seventh year of his life, ascended the throne without opposition, taking the style of Jahāngīr, 'World-seizer'. Five months after his accession the intrigues begun during the preceding reign produced a rebellion in favour of his eldest son Khusrū, who occupied Lahore. Jahāngīr, acting on his doctrine that 'kingship regards neither son nor son-in-law: no one is a relation to a king'—pursued the rebel with untiring diligence and crushed the revolt in three weeks. Khusrū was captured while trying to cross the Chināb, and was brought in chains before his father, who inflicted a terrible penalty on his son's followers. Under a date early in May 1606, the emperor writes in his authentic *Memoirs*:

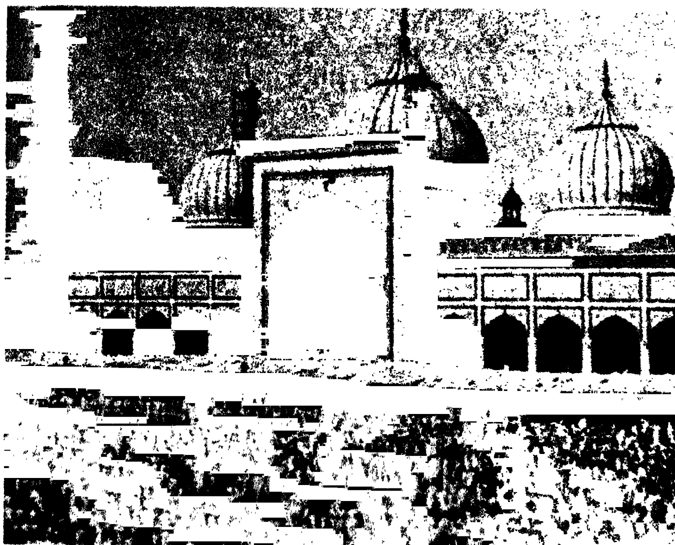
> 'For the sake of good government I ordered posts to be set up on both sides of the road from the garden [where I lodged] to the city [Lahore], and ordered them to hang up and impale the seditious Aimāqs and others who had taken part in the rebellion. Thus each one of them received an extraordinary punishment.'

The men impaled are said to have numbered three hundred. The Dutch author de Laet (1631) adds that Jahāngīr mounted his unhappy son on an elephant and led him between the lines of his writhing followers, while Mahābat Khān (Zamāna Beg) recited the names of the sufferers.

Khusrū was partially blinded and kept in confinement, more or less strict, until 1622, when he was reported officially to have died of colic. But there is sound reason for believing that he was strangled by order of his half-brother, Prince Khurram (Shahjahān), who was resolved to clear away every relative who might possibly claim succession to the throne.

The remains of Khusrū lie in the well-known garden at Allahabad which bears his name.

Wars. Jahāngīr, although mentally and morally inferior to his father, was no fool, and was able to preserve nearly intact without much effort the empire which he had inherited. Early in his reign he visited Kābul, and some years later suppressed a rebellion in that province. The central Sūbas



JAMA MASJID, DELHI

gave him little trouble, but from time to time armies had to be sent into Rājputāna, Bengal, and the Deccan, as well as to Kābul and Kāngra.

Jahāngīr's ambitions ; Kandahār. Jahāngīr inherited from his father and personally cherished two great objects of ambition—one, to recover the ancestral dominions of his house beyond the Oxus, the other to bring all Southern India under his sway. He did not succeed in effecting either purpose.

His armies never got near the Oxus. Kandahār, betrayed to Akbar in 1595, was easily regained by the Persians in 1622. Jahāngīr planned an expedition to recover the city, but it was never sent.

The Deccan. In the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, taken by Akbar's forces in 1600 (*ante*, p. 173), had been recovered for the local dynasty by an Abyssinian minister named Malik Ambar, who forced the imperial troops to retire to Burhānpur, and harassed them by attacks of light cavalry, worked in that Marāthā fashion which, at a later date, proved too much for all the resources of Aurangzeb. Jahāngīr was never able to make much progress in the conquest of the Deccan, although the city of Ahmadnagar was regained for a time.

Bengal. A rebellion in Bengal, headed by Usmān Khān, an Afghan chief, which had begun in the preceding reign, was ended in 1612 by the killing of the rebel leader.

Mewār. Amar Singh, the proud Rānā of Mewār (Udaipur), and head of the Rājpūt clans, whose ancestors had defied Bābur and Akbar, was reduced to submission in the ninth year of the reign (1614) by Prince Khurram (Shahjahān). The Rājpūt prince was pursued so unceasingly that he could hold out no longer. He and his son Karan, who were received with marked honour and courtesy by the prince, acknowledged the Padshah as their superior lord. Jahāngīr caused life-sized marble statues of the Rānā and his son to be carved and set up in the garden under the audience-window at Agra. Unfortunately, those interesting works of art have disappeared.

Conquest of Kāngra. Another important military success was gained later in the reign (1620) by the reduction of the famous fortress of Kāngra in the Panjāb, which Akbar had failed to subdue. Jahāngīr was extremely proud of this victory. Afterwards, he visited the stronghold and destroyed its sanctity in Hindu eyes by slaughtering a bullock and erecting a mosque within the precincts.

Plague. In the tenth year of the reign a deadly outbreak of plague occurred in the Panjāb. The disease, which Jahāngīr believed to have been previously unknown in India, spread to Delhi, Kashmīr, and most parts of Hindustan. Rats were affected, just as they were by the epidemic which broke out in Bombay in 1896.

The Empress Nūrjahān. Perhaps the marriage of Jahāngīr, in May 1611, with the Persian lady named Mihr-un-nisā may be regarded as the most important event of his reign, because she became the real sovereign, the power behind the throne. That lady, on whom Jahāngīr conferred at first the title of Nūrmahal ('Light of the Palace'), and later that of Nūrjahān ('Light of the World'), by which she is usually known, had attracted his admiration during his father's lifetime. Akbar discouraged the prince's suit, and married Mihr-un-nisā to an officer named Alī Kulī, better known by his title of Sherafgan Khān ('The Tiger-thrower'). After the accession of Prince Salīm to the throne Sherafgan was appointed Governor of Bardwān in Bengal. He incurred the displeasure of Jahāngīr, who sent his own foster-brother Kutb-ud-dīn Khān with orders to dispatch Sherafgan to court, and if he should resist to punish him. When Kutb-ud-dīn attempted to enforce his orders Sherafgan killed him and was himself slain by the followers of the imperial official, who, to quote Jahāngīr's words, fell upon Sherafgan, 'cut him to pieces, and sent him to hell'. The emperor adds the comment that 'it is to be hoped that the place of that black-faced



JAHĀNGĪR

scoundrel will ever be there '. Although there is no positive evidence that Jahāngīr ordered the destruction of Sherafgan in order that he might gain possession of the widow, the ferocity of the remark quoted permits of little doubt on the subject., Mihr-un-nisā was brought to court, but allowed fully four years to pass before she consented to accept the position of principal consort to Jahāngīr.

Once she was installed as empress, her husband submitted to her guidance without reserve, and granted her privileges beyond all precedent. She sat at the audience-window to hear petitions, and her name appeared on the coinage along with that of Jahāngīr. In fact, she governed the empire. The Mohammedan chroniclers affirm that Jahāngīr used to say that 'Nūrjahān was wise enough to conduct the business of state, while he wanted only a bottle of wine and a piece of meat wherewith to make merry' Nūrjahān certainly exercised a good influence on her husband, whose intemperance and cruelty she checked to some extent. She is said to have been 'an asylum to all sufferers' and a generous patron of many needy suppliants, especially of dowerless girls. Her power came to an end after the accession of Shahjahān, but she was well treated and allowed a liberal income. She lived until 1645, when she died at Lahore, where she was buried by the side of Jahāngīr. Her father, Itimād-ud-daula, her able brother, Āsaf Khān, and numerous other relatives had shared her wealth and power while they lasted.

Intrigues ; rebellion of Prince Khurram. The empress sought to secure her position at court by marrying to Prince Khurrum, third son of the emperor, her brother's daughter, the famous Mumtāz Mahal, 'the Lady of the Tāj', and by uniting her own daughter by her first husband to Shahryār, the youngest son of Jahāngīr. At first she favoured Prince Khurram, but when the Deccan wars enhanced his reputation, she grew jealous and transferred her support to Prince Shahryār. Her intrigues on his behalf drove the elder brother

into rebellion. He was defeated by Mahābat Khān, his father's general, and compelled to flee, first to Masulipatam on the east coast, and thence to Bengal. In 1625 he was partially reconciled with his father, who conferred on him the title of Shahjahān, 'King of the World'.

Rebellion of Mahābat Khān. In course of time, Mahābat Khān in his turn became the object of the jealousy of the empress, and was forced to rebel in self-defence. In the year 1626, when Jahāngīr was on his way to Kābul, the insurgent general cleverly secured the trump card in the game of intrigue by seizing the emperor's person, and in the next year Nūrjahān, with equal cleverness, enabled him to regain his freedom.

Sir Thomas Roe. Sir Thomas Roe, the dignified ambassador of James I of England (*ante*, p. 159), was admitted to close intimacy with the drunken monarch to whom he was accredited, and had to do his best to take his share in the frequent midnight orgies. He has left on record a lively description of Jahāngīr and his court. Another Englishman, William Hawkins, who had visited Agra a few years earlier, and joined more willingly in the royal potations, was much disgusted by the bloodthirsty cruelty of the emperor.

Death of Jahāngīr, 1627. Jahāngīr habitually spent the hot season in Kashmīr, which he called 'a garden of eternal spring, a delightful flower-bed, and a heart-expanding heritage for dervishes'. In October 1627, when returning thence, he was taken ill and died suddenly after a reign of twenty-two years. His remains lie in a fine mausoleum at Lahore, which city was usually treated as his capital.

Character of Jahāngīr. Jahāngīr has been described as 'a talented drunkard'. In his youth he had been spoiled, and he grew up to be a wilful, cruel man, easy-going and good-natured when not thwarted, but a ferocious savage when angered. Like Mohammed bin Tughlak, he was 'a mixture of opposites'. We know all about him, because we have his

own account of nineteen years of his reign recorded in his authentic *Memoirs*, in addition to many narratives by Indian and European writers, not to speak of numerous life-like portraits, the work of skilled artists. We can thus see the man as he was—the typical Asiatic despot, a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness. Jahāngīr prided himself especially on his love of justice. When recording the execution of a notable personage for the crime of murder, he observes: 'God forbid that in such affairs I should consider princes, and far less that I should consider Amīrs.' But his justice was bloody and cruel, rarely tempered with mercy. For instance, he had no hesitation in sentencing hundreds of men at a time to be impaled on sharp stakes. He could feel the most acute grief for the loss of a wife or child, and yet hamstring and kill certain wretched beaters who had accidentally spoiled his shot at an antelope. He loved both nature and art. He was an expert judge of painting and delighted in fine scenery or lovely flowers. The blossom of the *dhāk* tree, he remarks, 'is so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it'. The Rev. Edward Terry, Sir Thomas Roe's chaplain, while admitting that the emperor did not always abide by his promises, records the fact that Englishmen 'found a free trade, a peaceable residence, and a very good esteem with that king and people'. The life and reign of Jahāngīr deserve treatment better than they have received from most historians.

Shahryār and Dāwar Bakhsh; accession of Shahjahān. When Jahāngīr died two of his sons still lived. Prince Khurram or Shahjahān, the elder of the two and the ablest member of the family, was then far away in the Deccan. Shahryār, the younger, hurried to Lahore.[1] Āsaf Khān, whose daughter,

[1] The fate of Khusrū, the eldest son, has been narrated. Parvīz, the second son, died a year before his father. A son named Jahāndār had died in childhood.

Mumtāz Mahal, was married to Shahjahān, naturally desired his son-in-law to succeed. In order to gain time until he should arrive, Āsaf Khān set up as Padshah, Khusrū's son, Dāwar Bakhsh, nicknamed Bulākī, who, according to some authorities, had been nominated as heir-apparent by Jahāngīr. Shahryār, who was known as Nā-shudanī or 'Good-for-nothing', was easily defeated by Āsaf Khān and blinded. Shahjahān, summoned by an express messenger, hastened to the north and gave orders for the killing of all his male relations who might possibly claim the throne. His orders were carried out so secretly that the exact truth could not be known, and authors consequently differ concerning both the names of the princes who perished and the manner of their deaths. It is certain that Shahryār and several young cousins of Shahjahān were put to death. Dāwar Bakhsh escaped to Persia, where two European travellers, Olearius and Tavernier, met him.



SHAHJAHĀN

Shahjahān, having thus cleared away all rivals, ascended the throne in February 1628.

Wars in the Deccan. Shahjahān, like his father and grandfather, aimed at the recovery of the lost provinces near the Oxus and the conquest of Southern India. He was more successful in both projects than Jahāngīr had been. His early wars in the Deccan lasted for nearly seven years (1630-6). At the beginning of them he had to suppress a troublesome revolt by a noble named Khān Jahān Lodī, who was hunted down

and killed (1631). Five and a half years later the king of Bijāpur made his submission. In 1632 the kingdom of Ahmadnagar had been finally annexed to the empire. Towards the close of the reign (1657) both Bijāpur and Golkonda were again attacked and seemed to be on the point of submission, when operations were suspended owing to the war of succession between Shahjahān's four sons.

Kandahār, Balkh, and Badakhshān. 'A much-desired acquisition was secured in 1638 when Alī Mardān Khān, an officer of the king of Persia, was persuaded to sell Kandahār for a lakh of rupees, and to take service under Shahjahān, who promoted him to high honour. In 1645 Alī Mardān Khān took possession of the province of Balkh, the ancient Baktria, situated between the Hindu Kush mountains and the Oxus. Prince Murād Bakhsh, the emperor's youngest son, then occupied Badakhshān, the mountainous region to the east of Balkh, but left his government without leave, and was superseded by his elder brother, Prince Aurangzeb, who was driven out of Balkh with heavy loss (1647). Kandahār was recovered by the Persians in February 1649, and so passed for ever from the control of the Moguls.

Famine in Gujarāt, 1630-2. During the early years of the Deccan wars, both the Deccan and Gujarāt (including Khāndesh) suffered from a fearful famine (1630-2), described in the *Badshah-nāma*, and also in the *Travels* of Peter Mundy, an English merchant, who journeyed on business from Surat to Agra and Patna and back again while the famine and consequent pestilence were raging. People were afraid to travel for fear of being eaten, and 'the flesh of a son was preferred to his love'. The ground was strewn with corpses so thickly that Mundy could hardly find room to pitch a small tent. In towns the dead were dragged out 'by the heels, stark naked, of all ages and sexes, and there left, so that the way was half barred up. Thus it was for the most part hitherto', that is to say, midway between Surat and Burhānpur.

The sickness was so deadly that at Surat seventeen out of twenty-one English traders died. Meantime, the camp of Shahjahān at Burhānpur was overflowing with provisions. So far as Mundy saw, the Government did nothing to help the people, but the author of the *Badshah-nāma* asserts that Shahjahān opened a few soup-kitchens, gave a lakh and a half of rupees in charity spread over twenty weeks, and remitted one-eleventh of the revenue. The relief thus granted was too trifling to be of any use. Of course it would have been impossible to collect the full assessment. Sir Richard Temple justly observes that 'it is worth while to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter-of-fact observations on this famine, if only to grasp the difference of the conditions of native life under the Mogul and the British Governments'.

Destruction of Hindu temples. Shahjahān, who wished to be considered an orthodox Moslem, unlike Akbar and Jahāngīr, issued orders in 1632 for the destruction throughout his dominions of all Hindu temples recently built. In the Benares District alone seventy-six temples were destroyed in compliance with that order. Figures for other localities are not recorded.

The Portuguese of Hūglī. Both Akbar and Jahāngīr had shown favour to Christians and Christianity, one motive which influenced Jahāngīr being his desire to benefit from European trade. The Portuguese, who had been allowed to settle and build at Hūglī (Hooghly), nearly thirty miles above the site of Calcutta, abused the privileges granted and broke the peace of the empire by shameless piracy and a cruel slave-trade. They were rash enough to give special offence to Mumtāz Mahal, who used her all-powerful influence to compass their destruction. In 1632, the year after her death, an officer of Shahjahān stormed the Portuguese stronghold, killing about ten thousand of the defenders, who were 'either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire'. Between four and five thousand prisoners were brought to Agra and

treated with great cruelty. Their misery, Bernier tells us, was 'unparalleled in the history of modern times'. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that their sufferings were wholly undeserved. Shahjahān pulled down the belfry of the church at Agra, but did not completely destroy the building, part of which still exists.

Character and administration of Shahjahān. Most modern historians, dazzled by the beauty of the imperial buildings, and misled by a phrase of Tavernier to the effect that Shahjahān governed his people 'like a father' with exceptional mildness, as well as by the authority of Elphinstone, have been inclined to give Shahjahān undeserved praise for the supposed excellence of his personal character and the alleged efficiency of his administration. Aurangzeb has been held up to universal reproach because he made his way to the throne through the blood of his brothers, while Shahjahān, who did exactly the same thing, is allowed to escape without censure. He was even credited by Elphinstone with 'a life not sullied' by crime. Older writers knew better. Tavernier, notwithstanding his use of the phrase cited above, states plainly that Shahjahān 'by degrees murdered all those who, from having shown affection for his nephew, had made themselves suspects, and the early years of his reign were marked by cruelties which have much tarnished his memory'. The Dutch author van den Broecke (in de Laet), writing in 1629 or 1630, while admitting that the character of the new monarch had not yet become fully known, was convinced that a kingdom won by so many crimes and the slaughter of so many innocent victims, could not prosper. In reality, the personal character of the much-censured Aurangzeb was superior to that of the much-praised Shahjahān, who was treacherous, cruel, sensual, and avaricious. The 'justice' with which he has been credited was usually nothing better than the savage ferocity practised by his father.

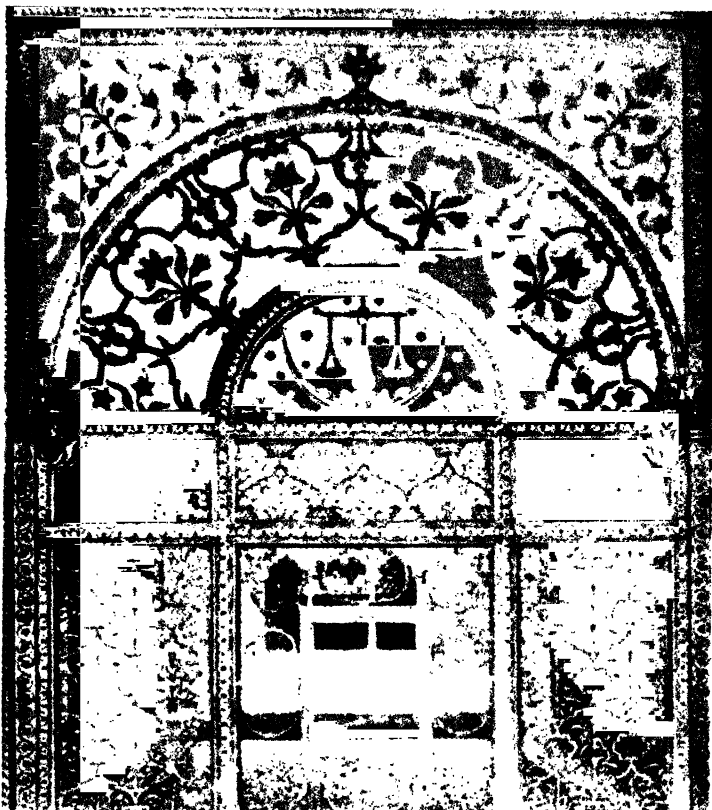
Peter Mundy, who has been already quoted, gives a glimpse into the actual state of the empire early in the reign (1630-3).

When staying at Patna he found that travelling, whether by river or road, was unsafe because 'this country, as all the rest of India, swarms with rebels and thieves'. Provincial governors sought to repress disorder by wholesale massacres, which they were allowed to commit without check by the imperial Government. At a place in the Cawnpore District Mundy saw more than two hundred small masonry pillars (mīnārs) each three or four yards high, and each containing, set in plaster, thirty or forty heads of persons supposed to be thieves. When he came back a few months later to the same camping-ground, sixty more such pillars had been added. Thus in that one locality a single governor had slaughtered about eight thousand people in a short time.[1] That state of affairs was not exceptional. 'Mīnārs', we are told, 'are commonly near to great cities.' Much other contemporary evidence might be cited to prove the misgovernment of Shahjahān's dominions, especially in the earlier years of his reign. Some improvement probably took place between 1644 and 1656, when the office of prime minister was held by Sādullah Khān Allāmī, who is reputed to have been the best minister ever known in India. Whatever good administration really existed during the reign should be attributed to him rather than to his unscrupulous master. Murshīd Kulī Khān did good work by introducing into the Deccan the revenue system of Todar Mall, with certain necessary local variations.

Wealth of Shahjahān. The wealth amassed by Shahjahān far exceeded the vast treasure left by Akbar and was of almost incredible amount. The German traveller Mandelslo (1638) states that he was 'credibly informed' that the Mogul's treasure (no doubt including jewels and bullion) exceeded 1,500 million crowns, or 3,000 million rupees, equivalent to 337½ million pounds sterling at the then current rate of exchange (2s. 3d. to the rupee). Whatever the exact figures should be, the total undoubtedly was stupendous.

[1] 260 pillars × 30, the minimum number of heads in each = 7,800.

Shahjahān thus possessed practically unlimited funds to spend on the costly buildings which were his hobby. The Tāj and connected structures probably cost something like four



THE HALL OF JUSTICE, DELHI

million pounds sterling, and the expenditure on Delhi was equally extravagant. The splendour of the court was unexampled, millions being lavished on the famous peacock throne. All this reckless display was paid for by the people,

who were ground down by hundreds of official oppressors. A learned Hindu historian describes the Mogul empire as 'a system of organized brigandage'. The phrase has an element of truth in it.

The four sons of Shahjahān. Shahjahān had four sons, Dārā Shikoh,[1] Shujā, Aurangzeb, and Murād Bakhsh. In 1657, when the emperor became seriously ill, these four sons, all men of mature age, prepared to contest the succession to the throne. Their father had attempted to secure the succession for the eldest by keeping him at Agra and appointing his brothers to distant governments, but the device failed, and each claimant, ignoring the sovereign's will, gathered his forces and made ready for battle. Each had, as Bernier, the French traveller, observed, 'no choice between a kingdom and death'.

The contest for the crown. Shujā in Bengal and Murād Bakhsh in Gujarāt each assumed imperial titles and struck coin in his own name, of which specimens exist. The cautious and wily Aurangzeb did nothing of the kind. The army of Dārā Shikoh, which had speedily put Shujā to flight, now had a more serious task to face in confronting Aurangzeb. He moved northwards in the spring of 1658, dexterously representing himself as being merely desirous to help Murād Bakhsh, with whose levies he united his own. A fiercely contested battle between Aurangzeb and Murād Bakhsh on one side and Dārā Shikoh on the other, fought at Samūgarh, nine miles from Agra, ended in the decisive victory of the younger princes.

Shahjahān confined ; Murād Bakhsh captured. In June 1658, Aurangzeb, who had a friend at court in the person of his sister Roshan Rāi, made his father prisoner, confining him to the precincts of the palace, where he had the society of his

[1] The title means 'equal in splendour to Darius'. The common practice of citing the prince's name as Dārā (Darius), although convenient, is inaccurate. His personal name was Mohammed. The forms Shikoh and Shukoh are both in use.



THE THREE YOUNGER SONS OF SHAHJAHĀN

other daughter, Jahānāra. Next month the hapless Murād Bakhsh learned the true value of his brother's professions of unselfish support. No difficulty was found in making the foolish young prince hopelessly drunk, and throwing him into chains to await execution at a more convenient time, which came in 1661.

Fate of Dārā Shikoh and Shujā. The pursuit of Dārā Shikoh was continued with unceasing vigour, and at last he was run down at Dādar in Sind, brought to Delhi, and paraded through the streets, dressed in the meanest clothes, and mounted on a scarecrow elephant. In August (O.S.) 1659, he was beheaded, on the pretext that he had become an apostate from Islam and the ally of infidels. It is true that Dārā Shikoh shared his great-grandfather's scepticism, but, of course, his execution was due to his position as claimant of the throne. Shujā made one more effort in Bengal, and was even able to occupy Benares, Allahabad, and Jaunpur. He was overcome by Aurangzeb's able lieutenant, Mīr Jumla, and ultimately driven into Arakan, where, according to some accounts, he was last seen fleeing over the mountains, accompanied by three faithful men and one woman. He certainly perished, one way or another, and was never heard of again.

Accession of Aurangzeb ; death of his father. Aurangzeb, who had been informally proclaimed emperor in July 1658, was now able to assume the imperial position with full ceremony in June 1659. His old father, although never permitted to quit the palace enclosure, and subjected to many indignities, was allowed plenty of dancing-girls, and lived a voluptuous life until 22 January (O.S.) 1666, when he died at the age of seventy-four. He was buried in the Tāj, the superb monument which he had erected to the memory of his favourite consort.

Mumtāz Mahal ; sensuality of Shahjahān. That lady, known by the title of Mumtāz Mahal (of which 'Tāj' is a corruption), was the niece of Nūrjahān, the able empress of

Jahāngīr. She was the mother of fourteen of Shahjahān's children, in all sixteen in number, and during her lifetime was the object of his devoted affection. But after she was gone he allowed himself to indulge in unseemly pleasures, and lost all capacity for serious business in his old age.

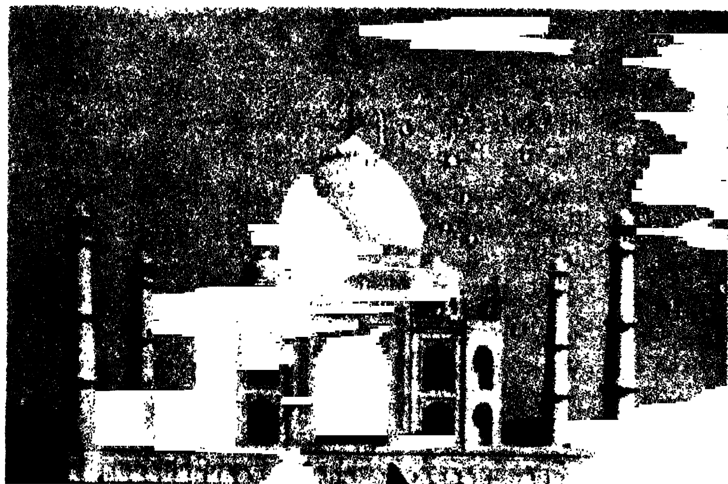
Mogul architecture. The masterpieces of Mogul architecture belong by universal consent to the reign of Shahjahān, in connexion with whom the subject is best considered. The beautiful domed architecture of the Mogul period is not



THE ROYAL BATHS, AGRA

a product of India. It is essentially foreign, that is to say, Persian in style. But the earlier specimens were considerably affected in details by the employment of Hindu artisans, and the later examples are much enriched by the use of the Florentine style of inlay (*pietra dura*) apparently imported from Italy by European artists in the service of Shahjahān.

Early Mogul buildings. Bābur and Humāyun, who both possessed excellent taste, are recorded to have erected many splendid edifices, but nearly all these have perished. Akbar loved building, and one of the finest examples of the early Mogul style is the massive mausoleum or tomb of his father





THE TĀJ MAHAL

near Delhi, finished in the fifteenth year of his reign, and erected at the expense of Hājī Begam, the senior widow of Humāyun. While the general design suggests that of the Tāj, the earlier building is far more simple and severe than the great edifice of Shahjahān. The buildings of Fatehpur Sīkrī, begun in 1569, are universally admired. The mausoleum of Akbar, at Sīkandara near Agra, planned and erected under the orders of Jahāngīr, is unique in design. The other works of Jahāngīr's time are chiefly at Lahore.

Works of Shahjahān. Everybody is agreed that the crowning glory of Mogul architecture is the mausoleum of Mumtāz Mahal at Agra, commonly known as the Tāj, which occupied a multitude of workmen incessantly for twenty-two years. New Delhi, or Shahjahānabad, was built under the direction of Shahjahān, whose palace there, when perfect, probably was the most magnificent edifice of its kind in the world. During recent years, especially under Lord Curzon's orders, much has been done to preserve and restore the numerous Mogul buildings at Agra, Delhi, and elsewhere. The Indo-Persian paintings of Shahjahān's time are very fine, and include a long series of charming portraits.

CHAPTER XX

The reign of Aurangzeb: his treatment of the Hindus; the Rājpūt revolt; Sivājī and the rise of the Marāthās

Aurangzeb at the time of his accession. In June 1659, when Aurangzeb assumed the full honours of the imperial dignity under the title of Ālamgīr, conferred by his father, he was forty years of age, mature in body and mind, well skilled in affairs, both civil and military, and firmly convinced that it was his duty to uphold his religion at any cost. The history of his long reign, extending like Akbar's over a period of nearly fifty years, may be condensed as being that of

the failure of an attempt to govern a vast empire, inhabited chiefly by Hindus, on the principles of an ascetic Moslem saint.

Aurangzeb's principles of government. Aurangzeb never flinched from the practical action logically resulting from his theory, that it was his duty as a faithful Moslem king to foster the interests of orthodox Sunnī Islam, to suppress idolatry, and, as far as possible, to discourage and disown all idolaters, heretics (including Shīah Mohammedans), and infidels. He could not do all he would, but he did all he could to carry his principles into effect. No fear of unpopularity, no consideration of political expediency, no dread of resistance, was suffered to turn him for a moment from his religious duty as he conceived it. The emperor Aurangzeb was a man of high intellectual powers, a brilliant writer, as his letters prove, an astute diplomatist, a soldier of undaunted courage, a skilled administrator, a just and merciful judge, a pious ascetic in his personal habits, and yet a failure.



AURANGZEB

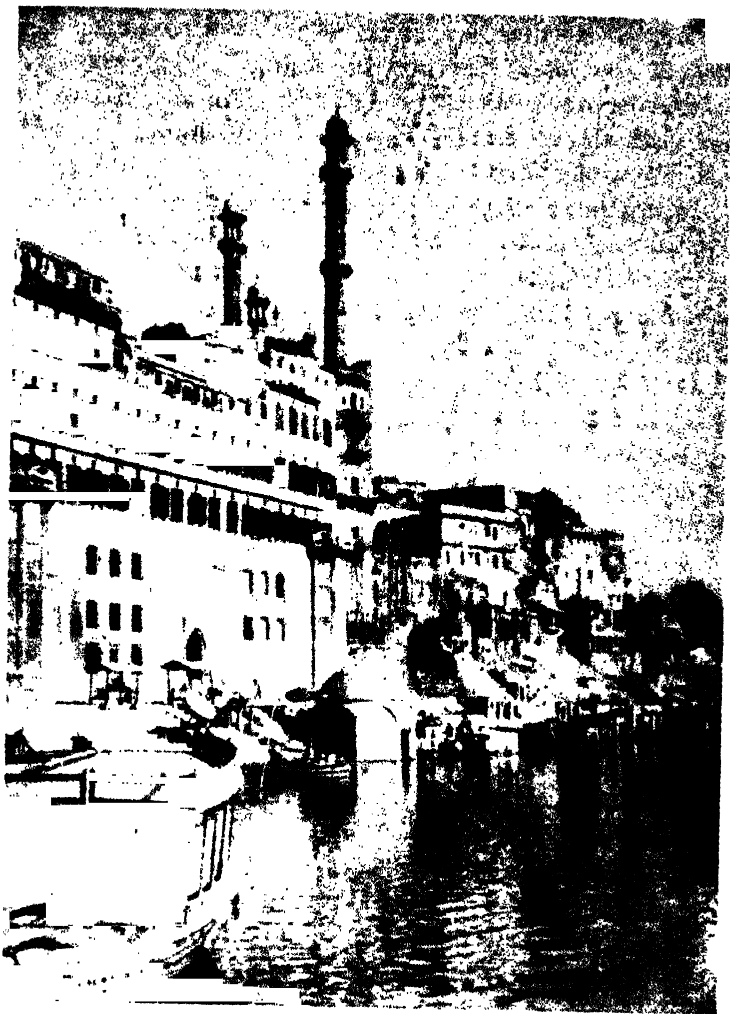
Palliation of his fight for the throne. He crossed a river of blood to gain the throne. The best defence that can be offered for the crimes by which he won it, is that indicated in his letter reproaching his old tutor :

' Ought you not ', he writes, ' to have foreseen that I might at some future period be compelled to contend with my brothers, sword in hand, for the crown, and for my very existence ? Such, as you must well know, has been the fate of the children of almost every king of Hindustan.'

That defence, as far as it goes, is sound. If any one of his brothers had gained the prize, Aurangzeb would have suffered death, and he can hardly be blamed because he preferred to inflict, rather than suffer, death. The deposition of his father was a necessary consequence of the defeat of Dārā Shikoh, who had already assumed the imperial authority with the assent of the aged emperor, who was then no longer fit to rule. Once the deposition had been effected, Aurangzeb spared his father's life though sternly refusing him liberty. The brutal treatment of Dārā Shikoh, which cannot be justified, is explained by Aurangzeb's intense hatred for all forms of religious heresy. His eldest brother, an avowed freethinker, was to him a thing accursed, and a fit object for extremest insult. Aurangzeb regarded the world from the point of view of a Moslem ascetic, and as against the rights of orthodoxy the claims of kindred or of justice to Hindu unbelievers were nothing in his eyes. He took up the position of Philip II of Spain in relation to the people of the Netherlands. Like that monarch he was intensely suspicious, trusting neither man nor woman. His love, although sometimes given, was seldom sought and, perhaps, never returned, except by one grandson, Prince Bedār Bakht.

Mīr Jumla's attack on Assam. In the earlier part of the reign the only wars, other than that of the succession, which claim notice are those with Assam and Arakan. Mīr Jumla, the able general, who had done such good service for Aurangzeb when he was viceroy of the Deccan, and again in hunting down Shujā, was rash enough to follow in the footsteps of Mohammed the son of Bakhtyār (*ante*, p. 106) and to invade Assam. Mīr Jumla failed like his early predecessor, and, like him, died soon after his return (1663).

Annexation of part of Arakan by Shāyista Khān. In the course of the same year, Aurangzeb's uncle, Shāyista Khān, who had allowed himself to be surprised by the Marāthās in the Deccan, was transferred to Bengal as the successor of Mīr Jumla. He governed the eastern province for about thirty



THE RIVER GANGES AT BENARES, SHOWING AURANGZEB'S MOSQUE

years. His expulsion of the English merchants from his territory in 1686 has been mentioned (*ante*, p. 161). At an earlier date (1666) he had cleared out the Portuguese and other pirates who infested the rivers in the neighbourhood of Chittagong, and sent an expedition against the king of Arakan, who had abetted the evil-doers, and was compelled to cede the Chittagong territory.

Twenty years' peace. 'The expeditions into Assam and Arakan did not disturb the general peace of Hindustan. A profound tranquillity, broken by no rebellion of any political importance, reigned throughout Northern India for the first twenty years of Aurangzeb's rule.' It is true that for nearly three years (1673-5) the Afghan clans beyond the Indus gave trouble, and during part of that time Aurangzeb in person superintended the operations of his generals, but the peace of India, as a whole, was not disturbed by skirmishing on the north-western frontier.

Aurangzeb's bigotry. Aurangzeb was a religious bigot, and he reversed in every respect the wise policy of Akbar towards his Hindu subjects. In 1669, hearing that certain Brahmins were giving religious lectures at Multān and Benares, he ordered 'all governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels'. In consequence, the temple of Vishvānāth at Benares was destroyed. In 1672 a Hindu religious sect called the Sātnāmis rebelled, and was crushed with ruthless severity. In 1675, Tegh Bahādur, the ninth of the Sikh gurus (*post*, pp. 224-6), was taken and executed because he refused to embrace Islam. In 1678, Rājā Jaswant Singh of Mārwār died. The emperor tried to seize his children and have them brought up as Moslems. He adopted the same policy towards the young Marāthā prince Shāhu. Finally in 1679 he revived the hated *jizya* or poll-tax which Akbar had abolished. By his bigotry Aurangzeb rent in pieces the mighty Mogul empire, and paved the way for the British conquest of India.

Alienation of the Rājpūts. After some time the Rānā of Mewār (Udaipur) made an honourable peace, by a treaty which contained no allusion to the odious *jizya*, and Rājā Jaswant Singh's son was recognized as chieftain of Mārwār. The mischief, however, had been done, and Aurangzeb had wantonly thrown away his most trusty weapon, the devotion of the Rājpūt chivalry. During the following struggle in the Deccan he learned the extent of his loss, but never repented of his action or swerved a hair's breadth from his principles. Notwithstanding the treaty, Rājputāna was not pacified, and the greater part of the country continued in revolt until the end of the reign.

Prohibition of histories. A curious decree of the eleventh year of the reign abolished the office of imperial chronicler and forbade the publication of histories by private persons. This prohibition has caused a certain amount of indistinctness in the details and obscurity in the chronology of the greater part of Aurangzeb's long reign. Such histories as were written secretly had to wait for publication until the emperor's death.

Aurangzeb and the Deccan. In 1657, when called away to take his part in the fight for the throne, Prince Aurangzeb, then viceroy of the Deccan, that is to say of Khāndesh, Berār, Telingāna, and Ahmadnagar, seemed to be on the point of annexing the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijāpur and bringing the whole of the Deccan under the rule of his father. Many years elapsed before Aurangzeb as emperor was able to return to the scene of his early labours. Meantime a new power had arisen, which, rashly despised at first, became strong enough to baffle all the efforts of the imperial grand army, and to condemn the aged emperor to long-drawn years of fruitless toil, ending in lonely death, ' without heart or help '.

The new-born Marāthā power. Before taking up the story of Aurangzeb's campaigns in the Deccan during the twenty-six years from the close of 1681 to 1707, we must go back to trace the origin of the new-born Marāthā power and sketch the life

of Sivājī, who gave it birth. The Marāthās are the Hindu population of Mahārāshtra, the country of the Western Ghāts, lying to the south of the Sātpura hills, to the west of the Warda river, and extending southwards as far as Goa. In the thirteenth century this region had been the centre of the Yādava power (*ante*, p. 84). Its best known towns are Poona, Sātārā, Kolhāpur, and Nāsik.

Description of the Marāthās. The inhabitants of the barren uplands of the Deccan, with its fierce heat and uncertain rainfall, are a frugal, manly race. 'They are', says Elphinstone, 'small, sturdy men, well-made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rājpūts, they have none of their indolence or their want of wordly wisdom.' One feature of the Deccan must be particularly noted. It is intersected by a number of mountain-ranges, and high flat-topped hills rise up on all sides. These hills are easily convertible, by means of a few bastions, into forts, which are almost impregnable without the use of siege artillery. These natural strongholds played an important part in the great struggle against the Mohammedans. The Marāthās would retire to them when hard pressed, and then, when the opportunity offered, they would sally forth and hang upon their opponents' flanks like a pack of wolves, cutting off stragglers and intercepting supplies. The Marāthās were admirably adapted for these guerilla tactics.

Early life of Sivājī. Sivājī, the great Marāthā champion, belonged to the Bhōslē family. His father Shahjī was a soldier of fortune, and while he was away on distant campaigns in Southern India, on behalf of the kings of Bijāpur, the lad was brought up at Poona under his mother Jijābāi. He became inspired with the idea of freeing his country from the Mohammedan yoke. At the age of nineteen he began his career by seizing some of the hill forts in the Poona district. In 1659 the Bijāpur government began to realize that the



SIVĀJI AND HIS ARMY

danger was serious. Afzal Khān, a famous general, was sent with a large force. But he became entangled in the dense jungles between Wāī and Mahābleshwar, near Sivājī's fort of Pratāpgarh. Here Afzal Khān was tempted to a conference and cut down.[1] His army was suddenly attacked from every side and completely annihilated. Bijāpur now thought it prudent to come to terms.



THE FORT, PRATĀPGARH

Shāyista Khān. The Marāthā now ventured to ravage the Mogul territories, and thus provoked Aurangzeb to send his uncle, Shāyista Khān, to suppress him. But the Mogul commander, having allowed himself to be surprised, was transferred to Bengal, as already narrated (*ante*, p. 208).

Aurangzeb's mistake. Other generals, including Prince Muazzam, were now sent against the rebel, and after some time (1665) Rājā Jai Singh of Jaipur persuaded Sivājī to

[1] It is not clear who was the aggressor in this mysterious affair. See Sir J. Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times*, 3rd edn., pp. 59-73. This book is the standard biography of the great Marāthā leader.

submit and even to come to Agra to do homage. Aurangzeb enforced the court rules of etiquette on his opponent, and so incurred his undying enmity. Sivājī escaped secretly from the court, returned to the Deccan, and in February 1668 compelled Aurangzeb to recognize him as Rājā.

Renewed war ; death of Sivājī, 1680. The war was soon renewed, and the Marāthās freely plundered the imperial territories, including the rich town of Surat, all except the English factory there. In 1674 Sivājī proclaimed himself sovereign of the Deccan with royal pomp at his capital of Raīgarh. He then crossed the Narbadā, and levied the *chauth*, or fourth part of the land revenue, a species of blackmail, payment of which was supposed to protect a district from plunder. In the south, where his father and brother had held *jāgīrs*, he occupied the fortresses of Vellore and Jinjī (Gingee), and was granted additional territory by the king of Bijāpur in payment for help against the Moguls. In 1680 he died at the age of fifty-three, leaving behind him a great reputation as the champion of Hinduism, the creator of a nation, and the founder of a powerful kingdom.

Civil administration. Sivājī, who had begun life as a petty chieftain, showed, as his power grew, that he knew how to govern his unruly subjects. He was a devout Hindu, and, although illiterate and unable to sign his name, was well versed in the sacred lore dear to all Hindus. His government, accordingly, was organized on a Hindu pattern. The supreme authority under the Rājā was a council of eight ministers who followed the principles of Brahmin law. The chief minister was called the Peshwā. Other members of the council severally looked after various departments—finance, the army, and so forth. The Marāthā territory was divided into districts, each with a staff of officials, and each village had its headman (*patel*). Higher local officers were known as Desadhikārs, Tālukdārs, and Sūbadārs. The ministers usually held military commands, and left their civil duties to deputies

(*kābāris*). The revenue settlements were made annually. Justice was in the hands of *panchāyats*.

Army and navy. The army was controlled by a commander-in-chief, below whom was a regular gradation of officers. The men were paid. At first Sivājī relied on his infantry recruited from the Western Ghāts and the Konkan —men who could climb like monkeys and capture the hill forts which were the seat of his power. Gradually the light cavalry became the most important Marāthā arm. The horsemen preferred the lance to any other weapon. Discipline was strict. No soldier was allowed to bring a woman into the field on pain of death. In this respect Sivājī's force differed widely from the armies of the Moguls, and even from those of the East India Company, which were always clogged by a train of female followers. The chief object of the Marāthā raids was to fill the treasury ; hence all plunder had to be strictly accounted for. Cows, cultivators, and women were not to be injured. A fleet capable of carrying four thousand soldiers helped the operations of the army on the coast.

Character of Sivājī. Sivājī was a born leader of men, and a real master of guerilla warfare. There can be no doubt that he really believed himself to be born with a mission ' to protect Brahmins and kine ', and to set his country free. He lived in a dark and cruel age, when religious feeling ran high, and admittedly his career was stained by deeds which would be condemned in modern times. Of the death of Afzal Khān it is impossible to speak with certainty, but the murder of the two Marāthā chiefs, Chandrarāo Morē and Bājī Ghorpadē, and the destruction of their capitals, is hard to defend. Equally cruel were the brutal tortures inflicted on the Hindu baniyas of Surat to extract their hidden treasures. But on the whole he was a chivalrous and far-sighted man, and we may fully concur with the character given to him by Khāfī Khān, the Mohammedan historian, who was certainly not biased in his favour :

'He made it a rule that, wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to mosques, the Book of God, or anyone's women. Whenever a copy of the holy Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Mussulman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Mohammedan were taken prisoners by his men and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them till their relations came to buy them their liberty.'

Aurangzeb assumes command in the Deccan. At the close of 1681, a year after Sivājī's death, Aurangzeb in person took command of the army of the Deccan, resolved to extinguish the kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijāpur, to curb the insolence of the Marāthās, and, if possible, to bring the whole south under Mogul rule.

His treatment of the Hindus. The emperor's obstinate adherence to his wrong-headed policy of annoying his Hindu subjects added immensely to the inherent difficulties of his task. The first thing he did was to issue stringent orders for the collection of the arrears of the *jizya* tax in the southern provinces, and in three months he compelled his officers to squeeze twenty-six thousand rupees out of Burhānpur. Insult was added to pecuniary injury by a proclamation that no Hindu should ride in a palankeen or on an Arab horse without special licence. Such measures, of course, made the entire Hindu population the friends of his foes; but no consideration of prudence sufficed to turn Aurangzeb from his fixed policy.

The affairs of Golkonda. When he returned to the Deccan he found the government of Golkonda in confusion. The king, Abul Hasan, had abandoned himself to pleasure and ceased to take any part in public affairs, which were controlled by the representative of the emperor at his court and by two Hindu officials. Aurangzeb, who could not endure Hindu influence, sent his son, Prince Muazzam, to restore order. The prince dallied over his task, but at last attacked the city of Hyderabad, which his soldiers plundered without permission.

The king took refuge in the adjoining fortress of Golkonda. In 1685 the prince, having made peace on terms displeasing to his father, was recalled.

Annexation of Bijāpur, 1686. The emperor, leaving Golkonda alone for the moment, deputed another son, Prince Azam, to reduce Bijāpur. He had little success, and was superseded by his father, who took the capital in 1686 after an investment lasting more than a year. The kingdom ceased to exist, and the splendid city became the abode of desolation, as it is for the most part to this day.

Siege and annexation of Golkonda. Aurangzeb then resolved to make an end of the sister state of Golkonda, and to depose the king, who was accused of sending money to the Marāthās, and allying himself with infidels. When Abul Hasan perceived that his destruction was decided on, he is said to have become a changed man, to have cast aside his evil habits and played the part of a hero. Certainly the city was put in a good state of defence, and when the siege began early in 1687, the imperial troops found that they had been set a hard task. The Marāthās cut off the supplies of the besiegers, who were reduced to extremities by famine and plague. An assault ordered by the emperor failed utterly, and it seemed as if the siege must be raised. But a traitor admitted the Mogul army, and Golkonda fell (September 1687). By these conquests and later operations the imperial commanders were able to levy tribute from Tanjore and Trichinopoly in 1691, which date may be taken as marking the furthest southern extension of Mogul power.

Struggle with the Marāthās. The two Mohammedan kingdoms had been destroyed, but the Marāthās remained unsubdued, and the remaining twenty years of Aurangzeb's life were spent in the vain attempt to subdue them. The emperor never returned to the north, and wasted those weary years gaining 'a long series of petty victories followed by larger losses'. His armies seemed to be getting the upper

hand between 1698 and 1701, but in the succeeding years the enemy recovered the lost ground.

Marāthā method of warfare. The Marāthās never, or hardly ever, risked a general engagement, but expended all their energies, like the Boers in the South African War, in cutting off supplies, intercepting convoys, and incessantly harassing the enemy. Mounted on hardy ponies, they were able to move with a quickness which completely baffled the imperial armies ; and, as each man carried with him his simple food and belongings, they needed no transport trains.

Inefficiency of the Mogul army. The Mogul forces, on the other hand, were unwieldy and almost immovable. The royal tents alone occupied a space three miles in circuit, and a contemporary traveller describes the whole camp as being 'a moving city containing half a million of souls'. Grant Duff sums up the situation in these words : 'These apparently vigorous efforts of the government were unsubstantial ; there was motion and bustle, without zeal or efficacy; the empire was unwieldy, its system relaxed, and its officers corrupt beyond all example.' Success in these circumstances was impossible.

Execution of Sambhājī ; Rājā Shāhu. For a time the emperor's arms had a promise of success, and Aurangzeb had the poor satisfaction of putting to death with torture Sambhājī, a son of Sivājī, in 1689. He spared the life of Sivājī junior, nicknamed Shāhu (Sāhu), the infant son of Sambhājī, and kept him at court until his own death, when the young man was released and returned to his own dominions. He became Rājā in 1708 after a contest.

Tārā Bāi. A few years after Sambhājī's execution, Tārā Bāi, widow of Rājā Rāma, another son of Sivājī, had retrieved the Marāthā losses, and directed the policy of devastating the imperial territories with such energy that the emperor was shut up in his camp, and his treasure was plundered almost under his eyes.

Retreat and death of Aurangzeb. The Mogul army gradually crumbled to pieces, and ultimately (1706) Aurangzeb was forced to retire on Ahmadnagar, where he died at the beginning of March 1707 (N.S.), in the forty-ninth year of his reign and the eighty-eighth of his life. His dust lies under a plain tomb in the village of Rauza or Khuldābād near Daulatābād.

Aurangzeb's farewell words. However severely the policy and conduct of Aurangzeb may be judged, it is impossible to refuse pity to the old man on his death-bed when he addressed his sons in these sad words :

'I know not who I am, where I shall go, or what will happen to this sinner, full of sins. Now I will say good-bye to every-one in this world and entrust every one to the care of God. My famous and auspicious sons should not quarrel among themselves and allow a general massacre of the people who are the servants of God. . . My years have gone by profitless. God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognized His light. . . There is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone, but only the skin is left. . . The army is confounded, and without heart or help, even as I am ; apart from God, with no rest for the heart. . . When I have lost hope in myself, how can I hope in others ? . . . You should accept my last will. It should not happen that Mussulmans be killed and the blame for their death rest upon this useless creature. . . I have greatly sinned and know not what torment awaits me. . . I commit you and your sons to the care of God, and bid you farewell. . . May the peace of God be upon you.'

Aurangzeb had lived too long.

Causes of Aurangzeb's failure. The causes of Aurangzeb's failure are obvious enough, and have been indicated in the course of the narrative, but it may be well to sum them up briefly. Aurangzeb acted as if he were merely the head of the Sunnī sect of Mohammedans, and not the protector of all the races and creeds of India. Akbar had realized the truth that the authority of the monarch of an empire inhabited chiefly

by Hindus could not be lasting unless it rested on the support of all his people. During the greater part of his reign he treated all religions with impartial justice. Only in his latter days he forgot himself so far as to violate his avowed principles by heaping insults upon Islam. Jahāngīr accepted and put in practice the tolerant maxims of his father, encouraging the building of Hindu temples as well as of Christian churches. Shahjahān revived the old evil policy of persecution, harrying the Christians and razing temples to the ground. Aurangzeb went farther, especially after 1678, when the death of Rājā Jaswant Singh deprived his countrymen of their most powerful support. The emperor, then, in 1679, reimposed the hateful *jizya* or poll-tax on non-Moslems which Akbar had wisely abolished. He carried to monstrous lengths the policy of destroying the holy places of Hinduism, and may be reasonably charged with the overthrow of thousands of temples.[1]

His measures forced all Hindus to regard him as their enemy and deprived him of the willing service of the Rājpūt clans. Sivājī, whom the emperor despised as a mere robber chief, was honoured by the Marāthās as a hero, the champion and protector of Hinduism against the imperial bigot. Aurangzeb's Sunnī bigotry made him as hostile to the Shīah states of Bijāpur and Golkonda as he was to the Hindu powers. He thus shattered the forces of Islam in the Deccan, by which the Hindu revolt of the Marāthās might have been held in check. The emperor's suspicious disposition, which prevented him from trusting anybody, deprived him likewise of all chance of finding trustworthy agents. He was, consequently, ill served. His life was so prolonged that he continued to grasp

[1] In 1679-80 the ruin effected in Rājputāna was enormous. At or near Udaipur 123, at Chitor 63, and in Ambēr (Jaipur) 66 temples were overthrown, that is to say 252 temples in two states in the course of a year. How many buildings were ruined in the course of forty-one years throughout the empire no man can tell. (*Māsir-i-Ālamgīri* in Elliot & Dowson, VII, 188.)

the sceptre after he had lost the strength to use it with effect. His officers, corrupted by luxury, lacked the vigour of their ancestors and were incapable of honest exertion. The long-drawn-out Deccan wars exhausted a large part of the huge treasure of Shahjahān, and ruined the finances of the empire. Financial ruin involved the collapse of the whole administration. The subject might be treated from many other points of view, but what has been said may suffice.

Chronology of Aurangzeb's Reign

Deposition of Shahjahān and informal accession	July 1658
Formal installation of Aurangzeb	June 1659
Charter granted by Charles II to the E.I. Company; Bombay ceded by the Portuguese to the English	1661
Mīr Jumla's attack on Assam	1662-3
Shāyista Khān surprised by the Marāthās	1663
Foundation of the French *Compagnie des Indes*	1664
Death of Shahjahān; annexation of part of Arakan by Shāyista Khān	1666
Prohibition of public idolatrous worship	1669
Sivājī formally proclaimed as sovereign	1674
Revival of the *jizya*	1679
Death of Sivājī	1680
Rebellion of the Rājpūts and Prince Akbar	1680-1
Assumption of command in the Deccan by Aurangzeb	1681-2
Annexation of Bijāpur; expulsion of the English from Bengal by Shāyista Khān	1686
Annexation of Golkonda; greatest extension of the Mogul empire	1687-91
Execution of Sambhājī, son of Sivājī	1689
Foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock	1690
United East India Company	1702-8
Retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmadnagar	1706
Death of Aurangzeb	1707

GENEALOGY OF THE 'GREAT MOGULS' (PRINCIPAL NAMES)

Amīr Tīmūr

Four generations

BĀBUR (Zahīr-ud-dīn Mohammed,
descended from the stock of Chinghiz Khān through females)

HUMĀYUN (Nasīr-ud-dīn Mohammed)

Kāmrān and two others

AKBAR (Jalāl-ud-dīn)

Mohammed Hakīm Mīrzā
(Ruler of Kābul)

JAHĀNGĪR (Nūr-ud-dīn Mohammed)

Sultān Murād

A son

Sultān Dāniyāl

Three sons

Sultān Khusrū
or Khusrau

Dāwar Bakhsh or Bulākī
and two others

Sultān Parvīz

SHAHJAHĀN (Shihāb-ud-dīn Mohammed)

Jahāndār

Shahryār

Dārā Shikoh (Mohammed)

Four sons

Sultān Shujā

Three sons

AURANGZEB ĀLAMGĪR
(Mohammed Muhī-ud-dīn)

Murād Bakhsh

Several other children,
including two daughters,
Jahānāra and Roshanāra,
or Roshan Rāi

CHAPTER XXI

The successors of Aurangzeb: Bahādur Shah and others, Mohammed Shah; invasion of Nādir Shah; growth of Marāthā power; Ahmad Shah Durrānī; the third battle of Pānīpat

War of succession. Aurangzeb left behind him four sons, the princes Muazzam, Azam, Akbar, and Kāmbakhsh. Akbar, a rebel and exile, no longer counted; the three others were all equally eligible candidates for the vacant throne. A document in the nature of a will found under the pillow of the dead emperor suggested a division of the empire between these three sons, but none of them had the slightest intention of being content with anything less than the whole. The eldest, Prince Muazzam, had himself proclaimed at Kābul, while his brother, Prince Azam, assumed the imperial dignity in the Deccan camp. Both of these claimants assembled large armies, which met at Jājau, to the south of Agra, in June 1707. The battle ended in the total defeat of Prince Azam, who was killed, along with two adult sons. Shah Ālam or Muazzam thus secured possession of Agra, the treasure city of the empire, and the command of abundant cash, which he distributed freely among his followers. In February 1708 Prince Kāmbakhsh was defeated in the Deccan, and died from his wounds. Thus Prince Muazzam became undisputed Padshah. He is known to history as either Bahādur Shah I or Shah Ālam I.

Reign of Bahādur Shah I. He conciliated the Marāthās by the release of their Rājā, Shāhu (*ante*, p. 219), and patched up a peace with the Rājpūts. The most important event of his short reign was a severe conflict with the Sikh sectaries of the Panjāb, and it will be convenient to notice briefly in this place the origin and early stages in the development of the Sikh power.

Origin and rise of the Sikhs. The Sikhs, or 'disciples', are one of the many reformed sects of Hinduism which have

arisen from time to time. The teaching of Nānak, the first guru of the sect, late in the fifteenth century, which was based on that of Kabīr (*ante*, p. 143), did not attract much official attention until the beginning of the seventeenth century in Jahāngīr's reign, when the guru of the day was put to death. That act of severity roused the zeal of the martyr's adherents, who took up arms under the leadership of his son Har Gobind and became the declared enemies of the government.



THE GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR

Sikh organization. Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708), grandson of Har Gobind, converted the sect into a political power by means of an organization (known as the Khālsā) and rule of life which sharply separated the Sikhs from the rest of the population and united them closely among themselves. The disciples, who were forbidden to use tobacco in any form, were required to wear their hair long, and to practise sundry other special observances. The fact that most of the Sikhs were Jats by caste supplied another bond of union, and the result was that during the eighteenth century the sect gradually

became a ruling power. But, although the Jats have furnished the majority of Sikh converts, it must be clearly understood that people of all castes may be initiated as Sikhs, and that within the sect no distinction of caste is recognized.

Ravages of Banda, the Sikh leader. When Bahādur Shah died at Lahore, in February 1712, he was engaged in endeavours to check the barbarous ravages committed by the Sikhs at Sahrind and other places in the Panjāb, under the leadership of Banda, the nominee of Guru Gobind Singh. Bahādur Shah was a good-natured, generous man, but lacking in the strength needed by a ruler in troublous times. He was nicknamed the 'Heedless King' (*Shah-i-bēkhabar*).

War of succession; Jahāndār Shah; Farrukhsīyar. The death of the emperor was followed by the usual war between his four sons. The most competent claimant, Azīm-ush-shān, governor of Bengal, had the ill luck to be the first killed in battle. Two others perished in further fighting. The survivor, Jahāndār Shah, a worthless debauchee of low tastes, was proclaimed emperor by Zulfikār Khān, a powerful noble, who became Vazīr (1712). After a few months Jahāndār Shah was put out of the way, and Farrukhsīyar, son of Azīm-ush-shān, was placed on the throne (January 1713) by the influence of two Saiyids of Bārha. For some years this clan of Saiyids enjoyed the position of king-makers, and appointed whom they chose to occupy the seat of Aurangzeb. The imperial dignity was quickly becoming an empty although dangerous honour.

Defeat of the Sikhs. The principal event in Farrukhsīyar's reign was the crushing defeat of the Sikhs, whose leader Banda was captured and executed with the most inhuman tortures. About a thousand of his followers also were slain. This severity kept the Sikhs quiet for a generation. Allusion has been made above (*ante*, p. 162) to the important trading privileges gained for the English merchants by the surgeon

Hamilton, who attended Farrukhsīyar. The emperor, a timid, helpless creature, not personally of any importance, was murdered early in 1719.

Accession of Mohammed Shah ; break-up of the empire. Several nonentities, who lasted only a few months,[1] having been set up, the Saiyids selected another insignificant prince, who ascended the throne as Mohammed Shah, in October 1719. During his reign, which was long, and continued until 1748, the empire began to break to pieces. The emperor of Delhi was gradually reduced to a position like that of the later members of the Tughlak dynasty (*ante*, p. 119), while the outlying powers, Hindu, Mohammedan, and foreign, came to the front, with the ultimate result that the sceptre passed into English hands.

Independence of the Deccan ; the Nizām. A Turkī noble, named Chīn Kilich Khān, generally known by his title of Āsaf Jāh, the son of a favourite officer of Aurangzeb, had become viceroy of the Deccan. For a time he held the office of Vazīr at Delhi, but in 1723 he retired from court, and after that date may be regarded as an independent sovereign. He was the ancestor of the present Nizām of Hyderabad. Before the withdrawal of Āsaf Jāh to the south, the king-making clan of Saiyids had lost their power through the murder of Husain Alī and the imprisonment of his brother Abdullah, who had been their leaders.

Practical independence of Oudh ; Saādat Khān. About this time, Saādat Khān, governor of Oudh, likewise made himself practically independent and founded the line of the Nawāb-Vazīrs, who were recognized later as kings of Oudh.

Bengal ; Allahvardi Khān. The Sūba of Bengal, including Bihār and Orissa, although nominally under the control of the emperor, was really as little subject to his authority as the

[1] Rafī-ud-darajāt, Rafī-ud-daulat (Shahjahān II), Nikūsiyar, Ibrāhīm. The 'reigns' of the first three fall between 18 February and 27 August 1719. Ibrāhīm claimed the throne in 1720, from 1 October to 8 November, and struck coins, now very rare.

Afghan kings of Bengal had been before the time of Akbar. Allahvardi (Alīvardī) Khān, the Sūbadār from 1740 to 1756, an able despot, ceased to pay tribute to the imperial court.

The Rohillas ; general revolt of provinces. To the north of the Ganges, the Rohillas, a clan of Afghan immigrants, made themselves masters of the rich tract now called Rohilkhand. In short, everywhere a general revolt of the provinces began in the reign of Mohammed Shah, and was completed in the time of his successors.

Shāhu and Bālājī Visvanāth Peshwā. Tārā Bāi was the last notable member of Sivājī's line. Shāhu, who became Rājā early in 1708 (*ante*, p. 219), had been brought up at the Mogul court, and was more Mohammedan than Hindu in his habits. He preferred pleasure to business, and was glad to leave affairs of state in the hands of ministers, especially in those of a clever Brahmin named Bālājī Visvanāth, who was appointed his Peshwā in 1714, and tried to introduce some order into the confused Marāthā government.

Bājī Rāo I, Peshwā. When Bālājī Visvanāth died, in 1720, he was succeeded by his elder son, Bājī Rāo I, after an interval of some months. The dignity of Peshwā thus became hereditary. Owing to Shāhu's easy-going disposition, the minister overshadowed his nominal master, and from 1727, when the Peshwā was granted full powers, the Rājā ceased to count. Shāhu survived until 1748, but Bājī Rāo was the real head of the government, and was able to pass on his authority to his son. Bājī Rāo was an able soldier as a leader of plundering bands ; but with no taste for civil administration. He largely extended Marāthā influence in the dominions still under the nominal authority of the emperor of Delhi.

Bālājī ; the Peshwā dynasty. On the death of Bājī Rāo I, in 1740, his place as Peshwā was taken, after a struggle, by his son Bālājī, who became practically the sovereign of the Marāthās. Nobody asks who succeeded Shāhu as

Rājā of Sātārā. All readers of history rightly think of the government of the Marāthās in the eighteenth century as that of the Peshwās. Their position was the same as that of the ministers in modern Nepāl, who have thrust their nominal sovereigns into the background. The name of the Mahārājādhirāj in that country has no interest for anybody. Thus the line of the Peshwās became substantially a ruling dynasty, which may be taken to date from 1727, when Shāhu bestowed full powers on Bājī Rāo I. The dynasty lasted until the general settlement of India effected by the Marquess of Hastings in 1818, but retained little power after the Treaty of Bassein, in 1802.

Change in Marāthā government. During the rule of the first three Peshwās the character of the Marāthā government changed. The hereditary dominions in the Ghāts and Konkan left by Sivājī became of comparatively small importance. The main efforts of the Marāthā rulers were directed to securing their power over the dominions of the Mogul emperor and the Nizām, by compelling the sovereigns of those countries to pay tribute to the Marāthās. Countries which consented to pay the *chauth*, or one-fourth of the land revenue, plus the *sardesmukhi*, or one-tenth, were supposed to be protected from plunder. The emperor Mohammed Shah, in 1720, during the lifetime of Bālājī Visvanāth Peshwā, had been forced not only to acknowledge the Marāthā title to the hereditary dominions of Sivājī (*swarāj*), but to recognize formally the Marāthā right to levy *chauth* and *sardesmukhi* from the six Sūbas of the Deccan.

Origin of existing Marāthā states. About this time the chiefs who founded the still-existing Marāthā dynasties of the Gaikwār of Baroda, of Holkar at Indore, and of Sindia at Gwalior, come into notice. The ancestor of the Gaikwār was an adherent of a defeated opponent whom Bājī Rāo I thought it prudent to conciliate. The chiefs of Indore and Gwalior are descended from men of humble origin who became officers

of Bājī Rāo and gradually rose to distinction in his service. At the great settlement of 1818 those three dynasties were lucky enough to be confirmed in their possessions. But the Bhonslā Rāj of Nāgpur or Berār lost its independence at the same date, and was finally extinguished by Lord Dalhousie in 1853. The Rāj had been founded in 1743 by a Marāthā leader named Raghujī, who acquired Cuttack (Katak) in 1751, and claimed from Bengal twelve lakhs of rupees as *chauth*. Raghujī is not to be confounded with Raghoba or Raghunāth Rāo, the younger son of Bājī Rāo I, who became prominent in the first Marāthā war.

Foreign invasion ; Nādir Shah. Unhappy India, already bleeding to death from internal disorders, had yet a calamity still greater to suffer. For more than two centuries she had been spared the misery caused by serious invasions from beyond the passes of the north-western frontier, but was now to undergo experiences which recalled the days of Mahmūd and Tīmūr. Early in 1736, the throne of Persia was seized by Nādir Shah, an adventurer who had earned a right to the highest place by the display of extraordinary abilities as a general. Being dissatisfied at the delay of the Delhi government in redressing certain grievances of which he complained, he occupied Ghaznī and Kābul, and, advancing without meeting serious resistance, was within a hundred miles of Delhi before Mohammed Shah could do anything to stop him.

Battle of Karnāl ; massacre at Delhi. Early in 1739, at Karnāl, not far from the historic field of Pānīpat, the imperial forces ventured to bar the invader's path, and were easily routed. Mohammed Shah submitted, and, being courteously received, entered Delhi with the victor. Nādir Shah at first held his troops in check and protected the city, but when the populace attacked him and his men, he let loose twenty thousand soldiers to burn, plunder, and kill. Not less than thirty thousand people perished in the massacre, which lasted for half a day.

Return home of Nādir Shah, 1739. Nādir Shah wanted something more than blood. The seizure of the crown jewels and the peacock throne (*ante*, p. 200) alone was sufficient to enrich the robber beyond the dreams of avarice, but he was not content until he had extorted from the surviving citizens, great and small, the larger part of their possessions, every form of cruelty being used to compel payment. He then made a treaty with Mohammed Shah, providing for the cession of the provinces beyond the Indus, reseated him on the throne, and after a stay of fifty-eight days returned to his own country, laden with coin, plate, jewels, and precious things of every kind to the value of many millions sterling. Like the early invaders, he also took away with him hundreds of skilled artisans.

The court of Delhi. The impotent court of Delhi continued to be the scene of endless intrigues and assassinations. The most prominent personages there were the Vazīr Kamar-ud-dīn Khān and Ghāzī-ud-dīn, son of Āsaf Jāh, viceroy of the Deccan.

Ahmad Shah Durrānī. In 1747 Nādir Shah, king of Persia, who had become an insane tyrant, was murdered, and succeeded in his eastern territories by a chieftain named Ahmad Khān, head of the Abdālī or Durrānī clan of Afghans, who took the title of Ahmad Shah. Next year the Durrānī invaded the Panjāb, and was driven back, after a hard fight at Sahrind, by the imperial forces under the command of the heir-apparent, Prince Ahmad, and the Vazīr, who was killed in action.

Ahmad Shah of Delhi, 1748. In April of the same year, Mohammed Shah died and was succeeded by his son, Ahmad Shah, who must not be confounded with his Durrānī namesake and contemporary.

Annexation of the Panjāb by the Durrānī. During the reign of Ahmad Shah, Ghāzī-ud-dīn and other nobles were engaged in constant fighting with one another, and Ahmad Shah Durrānī annexed the Panjāb. In 1754 Ghāzī-ud-dīn blinded

his nominal sovereign, and selected as his successor a son of Jahāndār Shah.

Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Durrānī. This prince was enthroned under the title of Ālamgīr II, but had nothing beyond the title in common with Aurangzeb. In 1756 Ahmad Shah *Durrānī sacked Delhi and repeated the horrors of Nādir* Shah's massacres seventeen years before. He also disgraced himself by a cruel slaughter of unarmed Hindus at Mathurā. Next year the heat caused sickness among his troops and obliged him to retire to his own country.

Marāthā conquest of the Panjāb. The son of Ghāzī-ud-dīn, who bore the same name as his father, called in the Marāthās to help him against his rivals, and the imperial city and the Panjāb were occupied by a Marāthā chief named Raghoba, the younger son of Bājī Rāo I (1758).

Marāthā empire at its greatest extent, 1760. This bold advance of the upstart Hindu power alarmed the Mohammedan princes, and induced them to combine for the expulsion of the intruders, by whom almost the whole of India, from the Himālayas and the Indus to Tanjore, was dominated for the moment. The Marāthā army now included a large park of artillery and ten thousand disciplined infantry, modelled on European principles.

The Bhāo Sahib at Delhi. In 1760, the Peshwā, hearing that Ahmad Shah Durrānī had defeated the Marāthās in the Panjāb, organized a great expeditionary force under his cousin, Sadāsheo Rāo, commonly known as the Bhāo Sahib, to march on Delhi. As the Peshwā's army slowly advanced, it was joined by Sindia and Holkar and other chieftains, and by the Jats under Suraj Mal. They begged the Bhāo Sahib to adopt the traditional guerilla tactics of the Marāthās, but the Brahmin general haughtily refused. This caused great offence, and after this, the Jats took no further part. The Bhāo Sahib captured Delhi on 2 August, and completed the ruin of the palace and city, stripping the silver plating from

the ceiling of the Hall of Audience. It was generally realized that if the Marāthās were victorious, they would establish a Hindu Rāj on the ruins of the Mogul empire. Meanwhile, the Afghan commander was encamped at some distance away, on the banks of the Jumna, unable to cross owing to the swollen state of the river.

Third battle of Pānīpat, January 1761. Ultimately on 6 January 1761, the Marāthā host, with little or no support from the Jats and Rājpūts, confronted the army of Ahmad Shah Durrānī, who was supported by the troops of Oudh and other Mohammedan principalities, on the plain of Pānīpat, where the fate of India has been so often decided.[1] Delay in bringing on a battle had reduced the Marāthā army to a state of famine, and at last the Bhāo Sahib was compelled either to fight or to starve. He was utterly routed with enormous slaughter, in which most of the Marāthā chiefs fell. The Peshwā died soon after. The third battle of Pānīpat was the death-blow to the power of the Peshwā as the sovereign of the Marāthās, the temporary revival of Marāthā influence a few years later being chiefly the work of Sindia, Holkar, and other independent princes.

Withdrawal of the Durrānī. The Durrānī made no use of his victory, and was constrained by mutiny to go home with his plunder. In April 1767, after inflicting several defeats on the Sikhs, he reappeared once more for a moment near Pānīpat with fifty thousand Afghan cavalry, and then retired, troubling himself no more with the affairs of Hindustan.

Causes of the decline of the Mogul empire. Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shahjahān, and Aurangzeb were all strong, hardy men of dauntless personal courage, able and willing to meet man or beast in deadly combat, as many anecdotes prove. But the sons of Aurangzeb seemed to be of a different breed. All the

[1] The three battles of Pānīpat: (1) defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodī by Bābur, 1526; (2) defeat of Hēmū by Bairām Khān and Akbar, 1556; (3) defeat of the Marāthās by Ahmad Shah Durrānī, 1761.

spirit was crushed out of them by their father. Their sons and grandsons grew up as nerveless weaklings in the society of women, eunuchs, and the riff-raff of the palace. The nobles became as debased as the members of the royal family, and were better fitted to buy over a commandant than to storm his fort. They went to war riding in palankeens, attended by a swarm of worthless followers of both sexes, and were served in camp with all the pomp and luxury of the Delhi court. Such people could not be successful. The rule of a despotic monarch cannot be maintained except by a man who knows how to rule. The successors of Aurangzeb had no such knowledge.

It is not surprising that in the course of a century and a half the Mogul dynasty should have lost its vigour ; the wonder rather is that the Padshahs for four successive generations possessed character and ability sufficient to hold together a vast empire and to govern it in such a fashion that it made at least a show of strength. The Deccan wars exposed the internal rottenness of the imperial organization. In the whole of India there was not a man capable of effecting the necessary reforms. The weakness of the empire was plainly seen by European observers. Manucci, the Italian physician, writes, late in Aurangzeb's reign :

'Having set forth all the grandeur and power of the Moguls, I will, with the reader's permission, assert from what I have seen and tested, that to sweep it entirely away and occupy the whole empire, nothing is required beyond a corps of thirty thousand trusty European soldiers, led by competent commanders, who would thereby easily acquire the glory of great conquerors.'

That opinion probably was quite sound. It was held a little later by Clive, although he did not care to act upon it.

Condition of India under Aurangzeb's successors. The condition of India during the half-century following the death of Aurangzeb may be summed up in one word—misery.

Even before his death, the French physician Bernier, not an unfriendly critic, declared that 'no adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people'. He writes of

'a tyranny so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion—a tyranny, owing to which these wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation, and die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator from his wretched home . . . As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation. The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition.'

After the old emperor had passed away, hell was let loose, and the people were ground to the dust by selfish nobles, greedy officials, and plundering armies. Hardly anyone appears on the stage of history who is worthy of remembrance for his own sake, and there is little to be said about literature or art. In most parts of the country the 'great anarchy' continued for another half-century, until the advance of the English power, in the early years of the nineteenth century, brought some measure of relief to a suffering land.



WARREN HASTINGS

BOOK V

THE BRITISH OR ANGLO-INDIAN PERIOD : RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM 1761 TO 1858

CHAPTER XXII

Transitional period: conflict of the French and English in Southern India; Dupleix and others; Haidar Alī and Mysore

The epoch of 1761. The selection by historians of the year 1761 as marking the dividing line between the Mogul and British periods does not rest solely upon the occurrence of the battle of Pānīpat in that year. Four years earlier, in 1757, Clive's victory at Plassey had laid Bengal and its dependencies at the feet of the East India Company, the military position of which was secured in 1764 by the battle of Buxar, and legalized in 1765 by the grant under imperial seal to the Company of the Dīwānī, or revenue jurisdiction over the province. In the year of Pānīpat, the fall of Pondicherry, the capital of the French possessions, completed the ruin of the French, who had been routed at Wandiwash in the preceding year. In June 1761, Haidar Alī made himself master of Mysore, and so founded a power which lasted until the close of the eighteenth century, while in 1764 the Sikhs occupied Lahore, and became independent. Thus, from every point of view, we may take 1761, or, more precisely, the years 1760-5, as the end of the old and the beginning of the new era.

Nominal survival of the Mogul empire. The Mogul empire continued to exist as the shadow of a great name until 1858, when the last titular emperor was exiled as the penalty for his share in the Mutiny. But all the princes who bore the imperial titles during the century extending from 1759 to 1858

were equally insignificant, and the course of events was in no way affected by the succession of one nonentity to another.[1] The real power was in the hands of the Marāthās, the British, the Sikhs, and the Mohammedan states of Oudh, Bengal, and the Deccan. India continued to be a mass of conflicting, unstable states until 1818, when the settlement made by the Marquess of Hastings definitely established the British government of the East India Company as the supreme, controlling power. But it is true to affirm that from 1761 the Company was the most important and influential authority in India.

The transitional period. In the following pages we shall trace in outline the process by which the dominion over India passed from the hands of the Hindu and Mohammedan powers to those of the East India Company, and thence to the Crown. In order to make the subject intelligible we must depart from strict chronological order and go back for some years, dealing first with the south, where the growing strength of the European settlers first made itself distinctly felt. The history of this period of transition cannot be presented in a single continuous narrative, because India in those days was merely a geographical expression and had no unity within herself.

Conflict between the French and English. The competition between the French and English settlements on the Madras coasts for the control of the sea-borne trade developed into a struggle for political mastery, in which the native powers allied with one side or the other played only a secondary part.

[1] Their names are : Shah Ālam II, December 1759 to November 1806 ; Akbar II, November 1806 to October 1837 ; and Bahādur Shah II, October 1837 to March 1858. Other pretenders were Shahjahān III, December 1758 to October 1760 ; and Bīdār Bakht, August to October 1788. Shah Ālam at the time of his predecessor's murder was a fugitive, under the protection of the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh. He tried, unsuccessfully, to establish himself in Bihār, and from 1765 to 1771 was the dependant of the English at Allahabad. From 1771 to 1803 he was generally under the control of Marāthā chiefs. In 1788 he was cruelly blinded by an Afghan ruffian named Ghulām Kādir. From the time of Lord Lake's entry into Delhi in 1803 he became simply a pensioner of the British Government, and his successors occupied the same position.

In that struggle the naval superiority of England was the decisive factor. From Madras, where he had already done much for his country, Robert Clive transferred the conflict to Bengal, and there too was victorious by the aid of sea power. On the Bombay side the Marāthās were too strong to allow the European settlements much scope for expansion. The British empire in India was founded in Madras and Bengal, the English traders being first forced into political action by French rivalry in the south.

Pondicherry ; Governors Dumas and Dupleix. The French settlement of Pondicherry, about a hundred miles to the south of Madras, founded in 1674 was greatly developed under the government of M. Dumas (1735-41), who won a high reputation by his repulse of a large Marāthā force. His successor, M. Dupleix, who had already distinguished himself as head of the Chandernagore settlement near Calcutta, found in the south a larger field for the exercise of his abilities, and devised an ambitious policy based on interference in the affairs of the native states and aimed at the destruction of the English settlements.



DUPLEIX

First Anglo-French war. In 1744, war was declared between France and England on account of the disputed succession to the throne of Austria and in 1746 a fleet from the island of Mauritius (then a French colony), in the Indian Ocean, captured Madras. It was held by France until 1749, when it was restored to England under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748. During the interval the English possessions in the south were reduced to the one small fort of St David, near Cuddalore.

Origin of the second Anglo-French war. The second war between the French and English settlers arose out of disputed successions to the thrones of two Indian princes, the Sūbadār or Nizām of the Deccan at Hyderabad, and his vassal, the Nawāb of the Carnatic, at Arcot.

Disputed succession in the Deccan. As far back as 1724, Āsaf Jāh, Sūbadār of the Deccan, had ceased to pay allegiance to the emperor at Delhi, and had become practically an independent king. When he died at a great age in 1748 he left six sons. The eldest, who was employed at Delhi as prime minister, did not trouble about his father's dominions. Nāsir Jang, the second son, claimed the throne of the Deccan, and was opposed by his nephew, Muzaffar Jang, son of a daughter of old Āsaf Jāh. War ensued between the rival claimants, with the result that within about three years (1751) both Nāsir Jang and Muzaffar Jang had been killed. Salābat Jang, third son of Āsaf Jāh, then became Nizām and retained his position for eleven years. He was deposed in 1762 by his next brother, Āsaf Jāh's fourth son, Nizām Alī, the ancestor of the present Nizām of Hyderabad.

So much account of the disputes concerning the throne of the Deccan may suffice.

Disputed succession in the Carnatic. The business was complicated by another quarrel concerning the succession to Anwār-ud-dīn Khān, Nawāb of the Carnatic, who had been appointed by Āsaf Jāh in 1744 and had been killed in 1749. The claimants to the succession were Mohammed Alī, son of Anwār-ud-dīn, and Chanda Sahib (Husain Dost Khān), son-in-law of a former Nawāb.

French and English take sides. The French, for reasons of their own, backed Muzaffar Jang in his claim to be Nizām, and Chanda Sahib in his claim to be Nawāb, while the English supported the respective rival claimants, Nāsir Jang and Mohammed Alī. The quarrels between these two sets of claimants are not of the slightest interest or importance in

themselves. Their only right to remembrance is that they served as the occasion for the French and English to fight out their struggle for the empire of India. The French, as we know, were beaten, and the English were victorious. In that way the disputes between the claimants to the two South Indian thrones may be said to have brought about the foundation of the British empire in India.

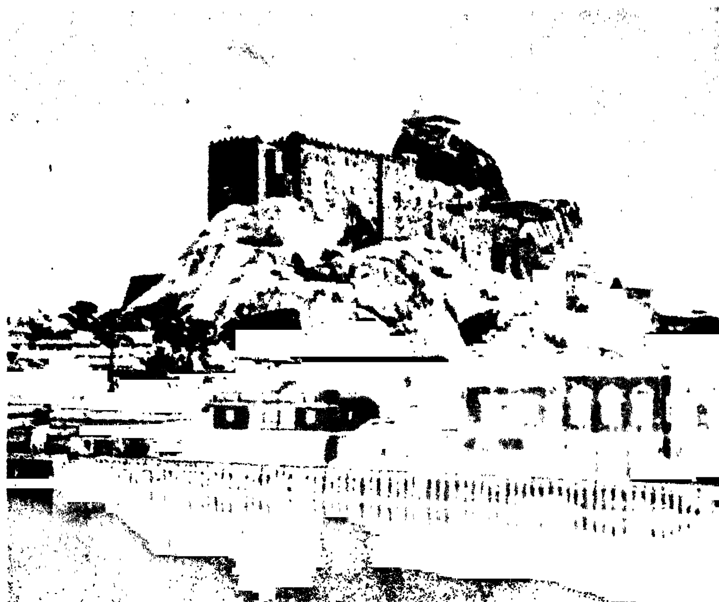
Ambition of Dupleix. Dupleix, the able head of the French settlement at Pondicherry, aimed definitely at the total expulsion of the English and the establishment of French rule. His intrigues and alliances with native claimants or states were all directed to those ends. The English naturally objected to being driven out, and necessarily sided with the princes opposed to the friends of Dupleix.

Unofficial war. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 having established formal peace between France and England, and Madras having been restored accordingly to the English in the following year, the officials of the French and English rival Companies had no business to mix themselves up with the quarrels of Indian princes and go to war with each other. But they paid no heed to the treaty made in Europe, and were guided solely by the needs of the local situation in India, which seemed to require fighting.

Trichinopoly. The first conflict in the unofficial war occurred in 1751 at Trichinopoly, where Mohammed Alī and his English allies were besieged by Chanda Sahib and the French. At the moment it seemed that the French would succeed in driving out the English. Muzaffar Jang had become Nizām and had appointed Dupleix to be governor of the peninsula from the Kistna (Krishnā) river to Cape Comorin. The resources of Madras did not suffice to effect directly the relief of distant Trichinopoly.

Capture and defence of Arcot. Robert Clive, a young 'writer' in the Company's service, who had recently accepted a commission as captain in the army under his old friend

Major Stringer Lawrence, saw that the proper way to relieve Trichinopoly was to attack Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and so force Chanda Sahib to withdraw troops from the siege of the southern town.[1] He persuaded his superiors to allow him to make the attack with an absurdly small force, comprising only 200 British soldiers, 300 sepoys, and 3 small



THE ROCK, TRICHINOPOLY

field-pieces. Clive being, as Pitt called him, 'a heaven-born general', succeeded not only in taking Arcot, but in holding it for 54 days against 3,000 of Chanda Sahib's best troops aided by 150 Frenchmen. Thus Trichinopoly was relieved indirectly, and the fame of the British arms was spread throughout India. The sepoys showed the utmost devotion to Clive as their leader, and generously offered the

[1] Arcot is sixty-five miles WSW. from Madras.

scanty supply of rice to their British comrades, saying that the water in which it was boiled would suffice for themselves. The French and their allies finally surrendered all claims to Trichinopoly in 1752. Further victories at Kāveripāk, to the east of Arcot, and certain other places resulted in the driving out of Chanda Sahib. Mohammed Alī became undisputed Nawāb of the Carnatic, and retained the rank to the end of his long and worthless life in 1795. Clive was thus free to return to England for rest in 1753.

Ruin of Dupleix. The career of Dupleix and all his schemes of lofty ambition were ruined by the victories of Clive and Stringer Lawrence in the unofficial war. The Governments of England and France disapproved of their subjects' fighting in India while the nations were officially at peace in Europe. An envoy sent from France superseded Dupleix, who was recalled and allowed to die in poverty. His claim that his large private fortune had been expended in financing the expansion of French power was disallowed by the Government of France as being unfounded.

De Lally ; battle of Wandiwash ; fall of Pondicherry. In 1756 the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe set the French and English in Southern India fighting again, this time with official authority. The French Government appointed as their governor and commander-in-chief a distinguished officer, Count de Lally. Voyages in those days being slow, he did not arrive in India until April 1758. At first he gained some small successes, notably the capture of Fort St David, but the English fleet protected Madras and forced him to retire to Pondicherry in 1760. On land the French forces were routed by Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash in that year. In January 1761, Pondicherry surrendered after a gallant defence for nine months. De Lally was taken prisoner, and later sent to France. His countrymen treated him badly, and after some years' imprisonment, he was executed in 1766 on conviction for having 'betrayed the interest of the [French] king and the

India Company, for abuse of authority and exactions against the subjects of the king and the foreign residents of Pondicherry'. Although de Lally was a foolish and ill-tempered man he was not a traitor to his king, and ought not to have been executed. After some years the sentence was annulled, and his estates were restored to his son.

Ruin of the French. The Seven Years' War was ended in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris. In India the result of the operations was ruinous to the French, who were left without any regular military force, or any local possessions, except their factories of Calicut and Surat, which were mere trading stations. The fortifications of Pondicherry and the buildings within them were destroyed, so that, as Orme puts it, 'not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city' The town was rebuilt subsequently.

De Bussy and the 'Northern Circars'. When de Lally arrived in India, a countryman of his, M. de Bussy, controlled the Nizām's court at Hyderabad, and had taken possession of the districts then known as the 'Northern Circars' (Sarkārs).[1] Colonel Forde, marching from Bengal, turned the French out of those districts in 1758 and 1759, while de Lally's ill-judged interference destroyed de Bussy's influence in the Deccan, so that the Nizām was brought over to the English side. Meantime the battle of Plassey had been fought, and the English had become masters of Bengal, as will be narrated in the next chapter.

Summary. The outline of the leading events in the three Anglo-French wars waged in the south of India may be conveniently summarized in the following statement, which makes no mention of the contemporary events in Bengal and elsewhere :

[1] The 'Northern Circars' in Mogul times were Guntūr, Kondapalli, Ellore, Rajahmundry, and Chicacole, the chief town being Masulipatam. The corresponding Districts in the Madras Presidency are Guntūr, Godāvarī, Kistna (Krishnā), Ganjām, and Vizagapatam. But Guntūr was not acquired by the East India Company until the time of Lord Cornwallis.

The Anglo-French Wars in the South

I	*War of the Austrian Succession*	
	Declaration of war by France against England	1744
	Capture of Madras by the French	1746
	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle	1748
	Restoration of Madras to the English	1749
II	*Unofficial War*	
	Siege of Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French : capture and defence of Arcot by Clive	1751
	Surrender of Trichinopoly by the French : other British successes	1752
	Return of Clive to England	1753
	Recall of Dupleix	1754
III	*The Seven Years' War*	
	War begun	1756
	The 'Northern Circars' held by de Bussy	1757
	Arrival of Count de Lally ; the French capture Fort St David and attack Madras ; Colonel Forde occupies the 'Northern Circars'	1758-9
	Battle of Wandiwash	1760
	Fall of Pondicherry January	1761
	Treaty of Paris, end of the Seven Years' War	1763

In 1782-3 Admiral de Suffren fought actions with a British fleet off the Madras coast, which may be called a fourth Anglo-French war. Those actions were indecisive, and operations were stopped by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783. The armies in Hindustan, led by French officers, were destroyed by Lord Lake in 1803.

Effect of sea power. The French ill success in these wars was partly due to the incompetence of Count de Lally, the capacity of Major Stringer Lawrence, and the genius of Robert Clive ; but those personal accidents are not the whole explanation.

The most essential element in the French failure and the British victory was, as already observed, the superior English naval power. The small land forces of the Madras authorities were well supported by the British fleet, which, as a rule, was able to beat the French squadrons. Pondicherry might have held out against the land forces alone, but it could not resist them and the navy together. The ambitious schemes of Dupleix really never had a chance of lasting success, because he lacked the support of a fleet strong enough to bring him a constant supply of men and stores, while preventing the English from receiving, as they did, such supplies in abundance.

The kingdom of Mysore. When the kingdom of Vijayanagar was broken up after the battle of Tālikota in 1565 (*ante*, p. 138), its component parts passed under the rule of various chieftains. One of those parts—the province of Mysore, varying in extent from time to time—continued to be governed by a dynasty of Hindu Rājās who had been feudatories of the Vijayanagar kings.

Haidar Alī becomes master of Mysore. In 1749 Haidar Alī, then twenty-seven years of age, joined as a volunteer horseman the corps under the command of his elder brother Shahbāz, an officer in the service of the Mysore Rājā. The young man, having attracted notice during the defence of a fort, was appointed to the command of a small force with the rank of Nāyak ; and in due course was promoted to be Faujdar of Dindigal. He used his authority to raise a large body of organized plunderers, and thus became a power in the state. A treacherous palace intrigue drove him from office, but by various stratagems he recovered his position, and in June 1761 had made himself practically master of both the Rājā and Mysore. The weakness of the Marāthās after the battle of Pānīpat in that year gave him his opportunity, and the capture of Bednore with treasure perhaps too highly valued at twelve millions sterling supplied him with funds.

First Mysore war. The Marāthās could not willingly brook the rise of a new and aggressive power. In 1765 they inflicted a severe defeat on Haidar Alī and compelled him to pay a heavy indemnity. Next year he compensated himself by the conquest of Malabar. The Nizām, who at first had opposed Haidar Alī, now joined him against the English, but the allies were defeated by Colonel Smith. In 1769 Haidar Alī appeared before Madras and frightened the incompetent local Government into making a treaty with him, on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests, exchange of prisoners, and reciprocal assistance in defensive war. The conflict thus ended is known as the first Mysore war. Three years later the Marāthās again proved themselves too strong for him and forced him to buy them off at a high price.

CHAPTER XXIII

The English in Bengal: Sirāj-ud-daula; battle of Plassey; the Company as sovereign of Bengal

The Company's war with Aurangzeb, 1685. The beginnings of European settlement on the Indian coasts and the early stages in the history of the East India Company have been recorded in Chapter XVII (*ante*, pp. 154-64). The first deliberate bid by the Company for political power in India was made in 1685, when the Directors, in pursuance of a quarrel with the Sūbadār of Bengal, obtained the sanction of King James II to the dispatch of armed squadrons to operate against the ports of both the eastern and western coasts. The expedition to the Hooghly not only failed, but resulted in the temporary expulsion of the English from Bengal (*ante*, p. 161). On the western side the English fleet caused so much annoyance by stopping the pilgrim ships sailing from Surat that in 1690 Aurangzeb, who had no navy and was busy with the Marāthās, came to terms with his assailants on both coasts and

permitted Job Charnock to return to the Hooghly and found Calcutta. Soon afterwards, Fort William was built, and the merchants, feeling safe within its walls, devoted themselves to making money and put away all thoughts of empire.

Independence of Bengal ; Allahvardi Khān. The government of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa became practically independent of Delhi in 1740, when the lawful Sūbadār or Nawāb of those provinces was treacherously slain by a Turkoman officer named Allahvardi (Alīvardī) Khān, who usurped the dead man's place. Lavish bribes to the value of about seventeen million rupees secured the approval of the imperial court, and the usurper retained office until his death. Once he was established as ruler of the provinces he never sent anything more to Delhi, and was really, although not in name, king of his dominions. The titular emperor at Delhi exercised no control over Bengal after 1741. For several years (1742-51), Allahvardi Khān was much troubled by Marāthā invasions. The atrocious murder by the Sūbadār of a Marāthā general and his officers did not stop the plague, and ultimately Allahvardi Khān was obliged to buy off the marauders by ceding the Cuttack province in Orissa and engaging to pay twelve lakhs of rupees yearly as *chauth* for Bengal.

When his power was concerned, Allahvardi Khān was as unscrupulous as the other politicians of his day, but as a ruler of his people he was far above his contemporaries. Stewart, the British historian of Bengal, declares that he was ' affable in manners, wise in state affairs, courageous as a general. He possessed every noble quality '. Orme is equally complimentary, and gives him the quaint praise that he ' remained, perhaps, the only prince in the East whom none of his subjects wished to assassinate '. In his old age, however, he made a bad mistake by naming as his successor his grandson, Mīrzā Mahmūd, better known by his title of Sirāj-ud-daula, who was a debauched, cruel, and utterly worthless young

man, about twenty-eight years of age when he succeeded his grandfather in 1756.[1]

Capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula. The officials of the East India Company at Calcutta offended the young Nawāb by sheltering one Kishan Dās, a rich Hindu, whom the Nawāb desired to rob. Moreover, news having been received of the approaching outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe, the Calcutta people thought it prudent to strengthen their fort, and so gave further offence. Sirāj-ud-daula, who believed Calcutta to be much richer than it really was, resolved to loot the place and drive out the English.

The Calcutta merchants, who had been living quietly without thought of anything but business for more than half a century, did not know how to defend themselves properly. When Sirāj-ud-daula came near with a large army, Mr Drake, the governor, had an extremely weak force, including only one hundred and seventy-four Europeans, with which to resist. He did something at first, but soon took fright, and slipped away down the river with other cowards.

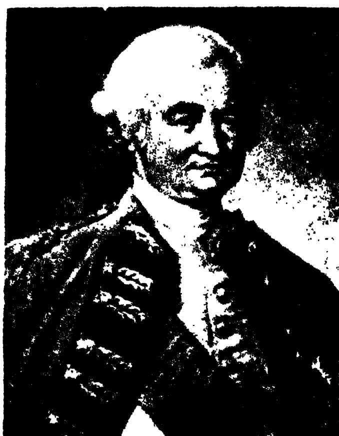
The Black Hole. The deserted garrison elected Mr Holwell, a brave man, as their leader. He did all that was possible to defend his charge for a short time, but on 20 June was overwhelmed by the greatly superior numbers of the enemy and forced to surrender.

The prisoners, one hundred and forty-six in number, were carelessly thrust into a tiny lock-up room on a hot night in June, and left there to live or die. Next morning, when the door was opened, only twenty-three were taken out alive, including Mr Holwell. This tragedy is known to English writers as the affair of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Sirāj-ud-daula, who was not personally responsible for the death of his prisoners, confiscated all the Company's property,

[1] Sirāj-ud-daula means 'lamp' or 'sun of the state'. The title is usually written in incorrect forms. It has even appeared as 'Sir Roger Dowler'.

and the English for the second time lost their footing in Bengal.[1]

Relief by Admiral Watson and Clive. But, happily for the British reputation, the services of the Company included men who were not cowards. It so happened that an expedition under the command of Admiral Watson and Robert Clive, then on his way out from England, had been operating successfully against the pirates of the Bombay coast, and had just returned to Madras when the news arrived of the capture of Calcutta. Some people in Madras wished to keep what resources they had in order to fight the French. The matter was hotly debated for two months, but ultimately the right decision was taken, and the available force, consisting of Admiral Watson's fleet, with 900 European soldiers, and 1,500 sepoys under Clive's command, was dispatched to Bengal in October, and sailed up the Hooghly in December 1756.



CLIVE

Action at Dum-dum and capture of Chandernagore. In February 1757 the Nawāb was badly defeated in an action at Dum-dum, and obliged to agree to the return of the English, the fortification of Calcutta, and the establishment of a mint there. But, when he heard of the outbreak in Europe of the contest known as the Seven Years' War, his hopes of receiving French aid revived, and he invited the French general, de Bussy, to come up from the south. By way of reply, Clive

[1] Some doubt has been cast on the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta, which rests mainly on the evidence of Holwell, not a very reliable witness. But it is corroborated by the French Governor of Chandernagore and others. See S. E. Hill, *Bengal, 1756-7*, II, 57.

and Watson took possession of Chandernagore, the French settlement.

Misgovernment of Sirāj-ud-daula ; Omichand. The misgovernment of Sirāj-ud-daula, a good-for-nothing prince, provoked discontent, directed by Mīr Jāfar, brother-in-law of Allahvardi Khān who entered into negotiations with Clive. The English officers agreed in May and June to place Mīr Jāfar on the throne of Bengal in return for one hundred and seventy-five lakhs of rupees besides compensation for losses. In order to secure the indispensable support of Omichand (Amīnchand), an influential Sikh banker, Clive descended to the meanness of inserting in a forged copy of the agreement with the Nawāb a promise to pay the banker a large sum, which was omitted from the genuine document. Omichand naturally was horrified when Clive, after Plassey, confessed to the deception, but the story that he lost his reason from the shock and died an imbecile is false. The old Calcutta records prove that after an interval he resumed business and engaged in several transactions with the English. As Mr Marshman observes, ' this is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive which does not admit of vindication, though he himself always defended it and declared that he was ready to do it a hundred times over '. Admiral Watson refused to sign the false document, but Clive ordered Mr Lushington to sign in his name. Negotiations between the English and the Nawāb having failed to produce any satisfactory results, Clive advanced on 13 June, informing the Nawāb that he had ' found it necessary to wait upon him immediately '.

Battle of Plassey, 23 June 1757. On 23 June 1757, a year after the tragedy of the Black Hole, Clive met the army of the Nawāb at Plassey, in the Nadiyā District, near Kāsimbazar, and not far from Murshīdābād. The English commander's force consisted of a little more than 3,000 men, including about 950 Europeans, and his guns were few and

light. His opponent had at his disposal 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 53 guns, mostly of heavy calibre, besides some 40 or 50 Frenchmen with 4 light field-pieces. The Nawāb displayed abject personal cowardice, and, after many hours' feeble fighting, his huge host was utterly routed. The handful of 'vagabond Frenchmen', as Orme calls them, under the command of a man named Sinfray, made a brave stand, but were unable to save the cause of the coward whom they served. The loss on the British side was trifling, amounting to only 22 killed and 49 wounded. The Nawāb's losses were supposed to be at least 500 men killed and wounded. Shortly after the battle, which hardly deserves the name, Sirāj-ud-daula was captured and put to death by a follower of Mīr Jāfar. In accordance with the agreement made, Mīr Jāfar was recognized by the English authorities as Nawāb, the title generally given at that period to the Sūbadār, and was compelled to pay heavily for his promotion.

Conquest of the 'Northern Circars'. In 1758 Clive took a bold step, by dispatching Colonel Forde, with a force which Bengal could ill spare, to wrest the 'Northern Circars' (*ante*, p. 244) from the French, whose hold on the province had been weakened by Count de Lally's orders recalling de Bussy. The expedition, which was well managed and wholly successful, resulted in the acquisition of valuable territory by the Company, and the transference by the Nizām of his alliance from the French to the English side.

Defeat of the Dutch. Mīr Jāfar, the new Nawāb, having soon found that his English patrons were disposed to be masters, resented the position and sought deliverance by negotiations with the Dutch. But Clive put a stop to them by inflicting a severe defeat on the latter near their settlement of Chinsūrah, adjoining Hūglī (1759). Next year he returned to England, where he was received with honour by

King George, and Mr Pitt, the Prime Minister. He was given an Irish peerage as Baron Clive of Plassey.[1]

Massacre of Patna. During Clive's absence the Company's affairs in Bengal were ill managed by Mr Vansittart, a weak but tolerably honest man, who had the misfortune to be surrounded by colleagues not at all honest. These men oppressed the people by means of a cruelly worked salt monopoly and other devices for their own enrichment. They replaced Mīr Jāfar as Nawāb by his son-in-law, Mīr Kāsim, making a good profit out of the transaction, and obtaining for the Company the cession of Bardwān, Midnapur, and Chittagong. The misconduct of Mr Ellis, a civil official at Patna, resulted in the outbreak of war with the Nawāb, who, having been defeated in actions at Katwā (Cutwa) and other places, took refuge in Oudh, and some years later died at Delhi in extreme poverty.

On the other hand, the British lost Mr Ellis and a number of other officials and soldiers, about two hundred in all, who had been taken prisoners, and were barbarously massacred. One hundred and forty-eight of them were slaughtered at Patna by Walter Reinhardt, nicknamed Sumroo or Sombre, a German soldier of fortune then in the service of Mīr Kāsim (October 1763).

Battle of Buxar, 1764. A year later (October 1764) Major, afterwards Sir Hector, Munro encountered at Buxar, on the Ganges, the combined forces of Mīr Kāsim and the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, who had united in an effort to expel the foreigners. The allies were decisively defeated, after a real hard-fought battle, in which the Company's force lost eight hundred and forty-seven killed and wounded, and the country as far west as Allahabad lay at the disposal of the victor. The

[1] An Irish peer does not become, as such, a member of the House of Lords, but may sit in the House of Commons, as Clive actually did. Twenty-eight representative peers, elected by the Irish peerage, had seats in the House of Lords up to 1920, since when, twenty seats have become vacant and no fresh elections have taken place.

emperor Shah Ālam took no part in the action, and came into the British camp on the next day. Buxar completed the work of Plassey, and finished once for all the military subjugation of Bengal and Bihār. The Marāthās at that date had not recovered from the effects of the disaster at Pānīpat, and hardly counted among the Indian powers for a few years.

Clive's return to India ; his non-aggressive policy. In May 1765 Clive, who had been sent out again from England to settle the disorder in Bengal, returned to Calcutta. He found, to use his own words, ' a presidency divided, headstrong, and licentious, a government without nerves, a treasury without money, and a service without subordination, discipline, or public spirit '. He knew well that the empire of Hindustan was within his grasp, if he chose to take it.

> ' We have at last arrived ', he wrote, ' at that critical period which I have long foreseen, that period which renders it necessary to determine whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves. . . It is scarcely hyperbole to say that tomorrow the whole Mogul empire is in our power.'

But he disapproved of a policy of adventure, and refused the empire which was to be had for the taking.

Grant of the Dīwānī, 12 August 1765. He was content to legalize the Company's position in Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa (' Orissa ' including only the Midnapur District and part of Hūglī) by accepting from the titular emperor a grant of the Dīwānī, that is to say, power to collect and administer the revenues of those provinces.[1] The Company was thus placed in the legal position of the Dīwān or civil colleague of a Sūbadār under the Mogul system. It undertook to pay twenty-six lakhs of rupees annually to the imperial treasury. Some months earlier the emperor had granted the Sarkārs of Benares and Ghāzīpur as fiefs to be held direct by the Company.

[1] The Cuttack (Katak) province in Orissa was then in the hands of the Marāthās in virtue of the cession made by Allahvardi Khān in 1751.

'Double government'; Oudh. In his anxiety to disturb traditional arrangements as little as possible, Clive worked the Dīwānī or revenue administration through native agents, and left all police and executive business in the hands of the Sūbadār, or Nawāb, as he was then generally called. This system, essentially weak, worked badly in practice, and was defensible only on the ground that nothing better was possible at the time. The Company did not possess the staff necessary for a regular administration. Oudh was left in the possession of the Nawāb-Vazīr, subject to the cession to the emperor of the Allahabad and Karā Sūba (excluding Ghāzīpur and Benares), as the equivalent of tribute due, which had never been paid. This arrangement was agreeable to Shah Ālam, who, on his part, granted to the Company the 'Northern Circars', of which he was not in possession. He took up his residence at Allahabad, and remained there for six years, practically as a pensioner of the English.

Mutiny of British officers, 1766; reforms. Certain reductions in the allowances (*batta*) to the British officers having been effected under orders from the Directors, great discontent arose among the persons affected, and most of the officers in Bengal so far forgot their duty as to form mutinous combinations. This dangerous movement was met by Clive with inflexible sternness and frustrated within a fortnight. Civil as well as military reforms were pressed with vigour, civil officers being required to sign covenants and abstain from accepting gifts. A scheme was devised for giving the officials adequate legitimate pay, but met with only partial acceptance from the Directors. All these measures of reform aroused much hostility among persons whose pecuniary gains were diminished.

Clive's return to England and death. In 1767 illness compelled Clive to return home, leaving his work unfinished. On arrival in England he was at first received with due honour, but after a time his enemies began to pursue him with

malignant calumny. Ultimately the House of Commons, while unable to approve of all his acts, resolved that 'Robert, Lord Clive, did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country'. The attacks on him then ceased, but his health had suffered, and he was afflicted by sleeplessness. In November 1774, weary of an ungrateful world, he cut his throat with a penknife, in his fiftieth year.

Character of Clive. Throughout his brief life of action (1751-67) Clive retained the qualities which he had displayed as a young man in the defence of Arcot. No danger could daunt his calm courage, no difficulties could exceed his resources, no resistance could shake his will. In his youth, although absolutely untaught in the science of war, he had proved himself to be 'a heaven-born general', and in the maturity of his powers he displayed the gifts of a far-seeing statesman. Posterity has endorsed the verdict of the House of Commons that he 'did render great and meritorious services to his country', and the rider may now be added that during his second administration he did his best to serve India as well as England, although some of his acts are open to censure.[1]

Misgovernment and famine, 1767-72. The interval of five years between the departure of Clive in 1767 and the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal in 1772 was marked by shocking misgovernment, due to the division of authority, the rapacity of the Company's officials when freed from the strong controlling hand, and general demoralization. In 1769 and 1770 an awful famine, still remembered, desolated the land, and is believed to have destroyed at least one-third of the population. In all ages India has been familiar with the horrors of famine, and several visitations of the kind have been alluded to in previous pages, but, so far as is known, none of them surpassed, or perhaps equalled, the famine of 1770,

[1] The story of Clive is most agreeably read in Macaulay's well-known essay, which is trustworthy on the whole. Certain minor errors are corrected in the notes, by Vincent A. Smith, appended to the edition published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

which extended far beyond the limits of Bengal.[1] The ill-compacted system of 'double government' then existing was not competent to deal with a tremendous emergency. Neither the English nor the native authorities held the knowledge requisite for working adequate measures of relief, which could not be seriously attempted. The effects of the calamity were still felt forty years later.

The Company sovereign of Bengal. Having thus traced the process by which the East India Company acquired the sovereignty of Bengal, Bihār, Ghāzīpur, Benares, Orissa, and the 'Northern Circars', with a controlling influence over the politics of all Northern India, we proceed to narrate the steps by which Warren Hastings, the first and, perhaps the greatest of the Governors-General, laid the foundations of a regular system of government.

CHAPTER XXIV

Bengal affairs: the Regulating Act; Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General; the first Marāthā war

Confusion in Bengal. When Clive quitted India in 1767, only eleven years had elapsed since the English had been expelled from Calcutta with contumely. During that short interval the East India Company was surprised to find that it had become the actual sovereign of Bengal, Bihār, the 'Northern Circars', and Orissa, in the limited sense meaning Midnapur and part of Hūglī, with a commanding influence over the policy of the ruler of Oudh.[2] The Company was not prepared for this sudden increase of responsibility. Its officials were merchants ill qualified to undertake the duties of government. Clive, as we have seen, tried to administer the

[1] The best printed account is that in Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*, first published in 1866.

[2] Ghāzīpur and Benares had been restored to Oudh in 1765 by order of the Directors. The rest of Orissa was not annexed until 1803.

country on the old Mogul lines, but the experiment failed, and the consequent disorder made new arrangements absolutely necessary. The Directors sought for a strong man who could be trusted to remedy the miseries of Bengal and to introduce the elements of civilized government. They found him in the person of Warren Hastings, who took over charge of the office of Governor of Bengal in April 1772.

Early life of Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings, the son of an impoverished member of an ancient English family, had joined the Company's service as a lad eighteen years of age in 1750, and afterwards had done good work under Clive, enjoying a high reputation for 'great ability and unblemished character', as certified by the Directors. Early in 1764 he returned to England, where he stayed until the beginning of 1769. The Directors then sent him out to Madras as Member of Council at that settlement, where he conducted himself with such discretion in difficult circumstances that he was selected to fill the more arduous position of ruler of Bengal. He enjoyed his employers' 'perfect confidence' and was given secret orders expressing their 'singular trust and dependence upon' his impartiality and prudence.

Hastings as Governor of Bengal; internal reforms, 1772-4. The new Governor lost no time in carrying out his instructions, and in taking measures to introduce effective government under the avowed authority of the Company. The two Indian officials, Mohammed Razā in Bengal and Rājā Shitāb Rāi in Bihār, who had despotically managed the revenue affairs of the two provinces as deputies of the Nawāb, were removed, and a Revenue Board was created at Calcutta, which became the capital. British officers were appointed as Collectors of Districts and Divisional Commissioners, the foundation thus being laid of the administrative system which exists to this day. Hastings found himself obliged to construct a government from top to bottom. He had practically no foundations on which to build. He had to create every department, and do

the best possible with the few ill-trained men at his disposal. The collections were farmed for five years, an unsatisfactory settlement of the revenue difficulty, but the best that could be made at the time. Civil and criminal courts were established at Calcutta and in the provinces, and arrangements were made for translating works on Indian law. Large economies were effected by reductions in the allowances paid to the titular Nawāb of Bengal, residing at Murshīdābād, and severe measures were taken to check the ravages of the dacoits or gangs of robbers. During this period Hastings usually enjoyed the support of his colleagues, and was able to carry out his reforms without factious opposition. His zeal, industry, and integrity deserve all the praise that can be given. Throughout his long life he felt a warm interest in literature, art, and science, and was eager to take any possible measures for the moral, intellectual, and material advancement of India. It is impossible to go into details here, but we may note that he was a good Persian scholar, encouraged the study of the Indian languages, patronized artists liberally, promoted Major Rennell's scientific surveys, opened up intercourse with Tibet, and established for a time overland communication with Europe. All such matters engaged his sympathies from the first.

Oudh and the emperor Shah Ālam. Clive in 1765 had made over to the emperor Shah Ālam the Districts of Allahabad and Karā in the hope that he would be able to hold them and keep out the Marāthās. But the Marāthās, although hit hard by the disaster of Pānīpat, soon began to recover power, and in the early part of 1771 Māhādajī Sindia occupied Delhi. He persuaded Shah Ālam to quit Allahabad and return to the capital. The emperor thus became a dependant of the Marāthās, and Hastings was justified in withholding payment of the Bengal tribute, and in threating Allahabad and Karā as abandoned by the emperor. He was not at liberty to take over the government of those provinces, being bound

by strict orders to abstain from annexation. He came, therefore, to the conclusion that the best thing he could do was to assign them for payment to the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, who had formerly held them. In 1773, accordingly, Allahabad and Karā were made over to that potentate in exchange for fifty lakhs of rupees, and arrangements were made for supplying a British brigade as an auxiliary force whenever needed by the Oudh Government. When the necessities and difficulties of Hastings's position are realized and the urgency of the Marāthā menace is rightly estimated, these transactions were fully justified, as the Directors held them to be. In 1774, when the Rohilla war was undertaken, the titular emperor gave formal sanction to the transfer of Allahabad and Karā to Oudh.

The Rohilla war, 1773-4. The provinces of Katehar and Sambhal, north of the Ganges, which were then, and had been for about thirty-five years, ruled by the Rohillas, a clan of Afghan adventurers, consequently had become known as Rohilkhand. The country, being fertile, was an object of desire to both the Marāthās and the ruler of Oudh. The Marāthās already had begun to make raids in it, and the Nawāb-Vazīr was eager to annex it. Hastings, who had long regarded the Rohillas as being dangerous to the Vazīr, the only useful ally of the Company, had reason to fear that they might join the Marāthās, and then destroy the buffer state of Oudh. He therefore held that the danger could be averted only by the conquest of Rohilkhand, and when his ally of Oudh asked for help in that undertaking, Hastings lent him the promised brigade under the command of Colonel Champion. The enterprise succeeded in its purpose. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh, and the Bengal frontier was secured against Marāthā invasion. But the transaction was criticized severely because troops under a British commander were placed in exchange for a money payment at the disposal of an Indian ruler, whose forces were alleged to have permitted themselves a degree of

licence forbidden by the customs of civilized warfare. Many Rohillas quitted the province, but one chief was permitted to retain his fief, the state of Rāmpur near Bareilly, governed till 1949 by a Rohilla Nawāb whose ancestor remained loyal in 1857. The villagers of the province, Hindus for the most part, once the storm of war had passed, simply had to accept a change of masters, a matter of little concern to them. They went on tilling their lands as usual, and the province suffered little injury, although some villages were burned in the course of the operations. Hastings's conduct in the affair of the Rohilla war, which offers no real occasion for blame, was grossly misrepresented by his enemies in Parliament, and subsequently by Macaulay.

The Regulating Act, 1773. The irregular acquisition of a wide dominion in India by a mercantile company necessarily engaged the attention of Parliament and the King's Government in England, and all parties were agreed that the proceedings of the East India Company must be regulated by law. Discussion resulted in the passing by Lord North's Government of the measure known as the Regulating Act. This statute, the foundation of the subsequent system of government, limited the powers of the proprietors of the Company, required the submission of dispatches to the King's ministers for information, transformed the Governor of Bengal into a Governor-General in Council with partial controlling powers over all British establishments in India, and constituted a Supreme Court of Judicature consisting of a chief justice and three judges. The council, which under Clive's government had consisted of eleven or twelve members, was reduced to four only, or five including the Governor-General.

Hastings first Governor-General, 1774. Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of Bengal, with ill-defined powers of control over other settlements, in matters of peace, war, and alliances, retaining his position also as Governor of Bengal. The councillors appointed to assist him

were Richard Barwell, a servant of the Company and a member of the old Bengal council, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. The Governor-General and his councillors were appointed by name for five years certain. The new Government took over charge in October 1774. The Chief Justice was Sir Elijah Impey, an old schoolfellow and friend of Hastings, and at one time counsel to the East India Company.

Hostile councillors. When the council met, Hastings found that he could rely on the support of Mr Barwell alone, the other members being hostile. The Act having given him no power to overrule his colleagues, the Governor-General was always in a minority. This state of affairs resulted in constant friction and some scandalous scenes, which lasted for nearly two years, until Colonel Monson died and Hastings became master in his own house by means of his casting vote as president. A year later General Clavering passed away, and the subsequent official changes did not seriously limit the power of the Governor-General, who was able during the eight subsequent years of his government to give effect to his far-seeing policy without much official opposition.

Rājā Nandkumār. The most famous and disputed incident of the personal struggle between the Governor-General and his councillors is that of the death of Rājā Nandkumār (Nuncomar), a clever and influential Brahmin, who had long been an enemy of Hastings, while intimate with his opponents. In 1775 Hastings instituted a charge of conspiracy against the Rājā. While that was pending a private person accused Nandkumār of uttering a forged bond. The forgery case, which was tried with exceptional care by the full Supreme Court and a jury, resulted in the conviction and execution of the Rājā, in accordance with the barbarous English law of the time, under which forgery was treated as a capital crime. The result of the trial was so advantageous to Hastings that naturally he has been suspected of influencing it. But he denied on oath that he had any concern in the business, and no

particle of evidence connecting him with it has been discovered. The Nandkumār affair, which occupies so much space in the biographies of Hastings, was of little importance as an event of Indian history, the course of which was not materially affected by either the life or the death of the Brahmin.

Conflict with the Supreme Court. The prolonged struggle between the Governor-General and his council revealed one fault of the Regulating Act, in that it allowed the responsible head of the administration to be overruled by his colleagues. The second defect of the statute was its failure to define either the powers of the Supreme Court or its relations with the Executive. The court asserted extravagant claims to jurisdiction, which if allowed would have made the Government powerless, and the unseemly contest which followed was not stilled until Hastings hit on the device of appointing Sir Elijah Impey to be head of the Company's courts as well as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The arrangement, although disallowed by the home Government, put an end to the scandal of open conflict between the Court and the Executive. An amending Act of Parliament passed in 1781 duly defined the duties of the Supreme Court as limited to Calcutta and also its jurisdiction over British subjects elsewhere. The same Act legalized the Company's courts. The modern High Court possesses the powers of both the Supreme Court and the tribunal of the Company.

The first Marāthā war. The war known as the first Marāthā war arose out of a disputed succession to the office of Peshwā. Mādho (Mādhava) Rāo, the fourth Peshwā, died in 1772, the year in which Hastings became Governor of Bengal, and was replaced by his brother Nārāyan Rāo, who, nine months later, was murdered by his uncle Raghoba (Raghunāth). The succession was contested between the murderer and the supporters of his victim's posthumous child, who set up a regency. The English authorities at Bombay promised their support to Raghoba at the price of the cession of Salsette and

Bassein, and an agreement to that effect, the Treaty of Surat (1775), *was concluded without the knowledge of the Governor-General.*[1] *But he found himself obliged to support the* Bombay President in the war which ensued. In 1779 Commissioner Carnac concluded with the Marāthās, guided by Nānā Farnavīs, an arrangement known as the Convention of



GWALIOR FORT

Wargāon, the provisions of which were considered so disgraceful that Carnac and other officers concerned were dismissed the service. Hastings saved the Bombay settlement from destruction by the dispatch of an expedition under Colonel Goddard, which marched right across India from Bengal to Surat and captured Ahmadabad and Bassein. The alliance then concluded between the British Government and the

[1] The Treaty of Purandhar, substituted for the Treaty of Surat by Hastings and his colleagues, never took effect, and need not be noticed in detail.

Gaikwār of Baroda was never broken. In the following year (1780) *the fortress of Gwalior, supposed to be impregnable,* was taken by Major Popham without the loss of a single man. This brilliant feat did much to wipe out the disgrace of the 'infamous' Convention of Wargāon.

Treaty of Sālbāi. Towards the close of 1779 the Nizām had organized a coalition embracing all the Marāthā princes, except the Gaikwār, and including Haidar Alī of Mysore, for the purpose of destroying the growing British power. War followed, in which the principal Marāthā army was defeated. The Rājā of Nāgpur was cleverly bought off without fighting. Haidar Alī, who had attacked the Carnatic fiercely in 1780, was menaced by the dispatch of a Bengal force under Colonel Pearse, which marched by land through seven hundred miles of unknown country to the aid of Sir Eyre Coote. That exploit was second only to Goddard's wonderful march across India to Surat.

Ultimately peace with the Marāthās was arranged through the aid of Māhādajī Sindia, the ablest of the Marāthā chiefs, who treated on their behalf with full powers and guaranteed the execution of the treaty.[1] The document, signed at Sālbāi in Sindia's territory, secured Salsette for the English at Bombay, provided Raghoba with a pension, and in most other respects restored the former state of affairs. The terms thus stated may seem to be of small moment, but the Treaty of Sālbāi in 1782 deserves to be remembered as one of the landmarks of Indian history, because it secured peace with the formidable Marāthā power for twenty years, and plainly signified that the East India Company had already become the leading authority in the country.

Māhādajī Sindia. Māhādajī Sindia, who took such a prominent part in bringing about the peace so much needed by Hastings, was the illegitimate son of a village headman named

[1] The correct spelling of the name is Māhādajī (माहादजी). The forms Mādho and Mādhava, given in some books, are incorrect.

Rānojī, who had begun life as slipper-bearer to the Peshwā, but had risen in the world, as often happened in those stirring times. Māhādajī had taken part in the battle of Pānīpat and was one of the few Marāthā chiefs who escaped alive from that field of death. He succeeded to his father's *jāgīrs*, and quickly became the most prominent of the Marāthā chieftains. In those days the glory of the Peshwā had become obscured, and the real power of the Marāthā confederacy was shared mostly by four territorial princes : Sindia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, the Rājā of Nāgpur or Berār, and the Gaikwār of Baroda. In 1771, when Shah Ālam, the titular emperor, had quitted British protection and returned to Delhi, he came under the control of Māhādajī Sindia, whose importance was thus increased. Māhādajī was so much impressed by the military successes gained by the officers under Hastings in 1780 and 1781 that he thought it safer to treat with the British than to fight them. That was the reason which induced him to take so much trouble in carrying through the Treaty of Sālbāi. He died in February 1794.

Second Mysore war ; defeat of Baillie. We must now turn our attention to the south, where the rapid growth of Haidar Alī's power had become a constant menace. The rise of the Mysore adventurer up to 1772 has been narrated in brief (*ante*, p. 246). When the war with France began in 1778, Hastings, acting under orders from home, and against the advice of Sir Thomas Rumbold, the Governor of Madras, seized the French settlements, including the little port of Mahe on the Malabar coast, which Haidar Alī had used for the entry of supplies and claimed as his. Haidar, deeply offended at that act and for other reasons, prepared a mighty force of about ninety thousand men with a hundred guns, directed by Europeans, to drive out the English. Hastings was then busy with the Marāthās and hoped that the threatened storm in the south might blow over. But it burst with awful suddenness. In July 1780,

Haidar Alī's host swept down on the Carnatic plain, slaying, maiming, burning, and ravaging with fiendish cruelty. He overwhelmed and destroyed a gallant force of under four thousand men under Colonel Baillie near Conjeeveram, and so inflicted on the English the greatest disaster which they had yet suffered in India. Sir Hector Munro, the victor at Buxar in 1764 (*ante*, p. 253), who was no longer as competent as he had been when younger, shut himself up with the few troops remaining in Madras, and did nothing. An urgent appeal for help was sent to Calcutta.

Energy of Hastings. This calamity was a terrible addition to the heavy load of trouble already resting on the shoulders of Hastings. His spirit rose to the occasion. He superseded the corrupt acting-Governor of Madras, persuaded Sir Eyre Coote to resume command, sent every available soldier and rupee from Bengal, and abandoned all other plans in order to meet the urgent danger. He succeeded, but not until nearly a year later.

Battle of Porto Novo. The incompetence of the Madras Government put difficulties of all sorts in the way of Sir Eyre Coote, who was in bad health, but at last he was able to venture on a general engagement. On 1 July 1781, at Porto Novo on the coast, he decisively defeated Haidar Alī, who lost about ten thousand men, while the Company's loss barely exceeded three hundred. The brigade under Colonel Pearse which Hastings had sent overland from Bengal joined Coote, who gained some further minor successes.

Effect of command of the sea. Notwithstanding another British disaster, the defeat of Colonel Braithwaite and a force of two thousand men by Haidar Alī's son Tipū (Tippoo), Haidar Alī began to feel that the war was too much for him. Shortly before his death he acknowledged in remarkable words the effect of England's command of the sea.

'I have committed', he said, 'a great error; I have purchased a draught of spirits at the price of a lakh of pagodas;

I shall pay dearly for my arrogance; between the English and me there were perhaps mutual grounds of dissatisfaction but not sufficient cause for war, and I might have made them my friends in spite of Mohammed Alī [Nawāb of the Carnatic], the most treacherous of men. The defeat of many Braithwaites and Baillies will not destroy them. I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be the first to weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting.'

Death and character of Haidar Alī. In December 1782, Haidar Alī died at the age of sixty, and was succeeded by his son Tipū, a strange and eccentric man of genius, but inferior to his father as a soldier. Haidar Alī, by far the most remarkable man evolved from the chaos of the eighteenth century in Southern India, possessed abilities and fertility of resource which enabled him to overcome the caprices of fortune and build up a military state strong enough to threaten the stability of the growing British empire. Although unable to read or write beyond signing his initial upside down, he spoke five Indian languages fluently, and his conduct of business was a model of regularity and dispatch.

He is described as being never for a moment idle from morning to night. He relied for success on strict personal supervision of every act of government and on a system of ferocious tyranny.

'By his power', writes a contemporary historian, 'mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures, day and night, were thrown into apprehension and terror. . . No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation of returning safe to it.'

The English officers and soldiers who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners suffered agonies from his unfeeling cruelty. He was a brave soldier, but devoid of mercy or compassion.

The subsequent history of Mysore will be dealt with in connexion with the administrations of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley.

Failure of promised French help. Haidar Alī had always relied much on hopes of effective French support, and had always been disappointed. The arrival on the coast in 1782 of a French fleet under Admiral de Suffren revived his hopes, but the actions fought by that officer with Admiral Hughes proved indecisive, and the Mysore Government did not benefit. Still, the British affairs seemed to be in a very gloomy position in 1782, a year of great events.[1] Good fortune, or an overruling Providence, dispelled the clouds. A victory gained by Rodney in the West Indies restored the British command of the sea, which had been endangered and for a short time lost. In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles ended the war. France never again attempted to attack the Indian coast.

Treaty of Mangalore. Tipū, who was not a party to the Treaty of Versailles, continued the war in the south and captured Mangalore, where Colonel Campbell had made a gallant defence no less notable than the more famous defence of Arcot by Clive. The war with Tipū was ended in 1784 by the Treaty of Mangalore, arranged by the Government of Madras, whose officers were subjected to the most galling insults. The basis was the mutual restitution of conquests and the exchange of prisoners. The prisoners in Mysore had been treated with the utmost brutality. The contemporary accounts of their sufferings are painful reading. Hastings loathed the treaty and the misconduct of the Madras Government, but at the time was restrained from interference by orders from England and a certain amount of opposition in his own council. The peace concluded at Mangalore lasted for six years.

Two disputable incidents. From 1778 to 1782 the burden cast upon Hastings was almost more than a man could bear. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of his actions in that

[1] Other events in that year were the end of the American War of Independence; the repulse of the main attack by the French and Spaniards on Gibraltar; and the establishment of 'Grattan's Parliament' in Ireland.

critical time, when submitted to close scrutiny, should be open to hostile criticism. The critics forget that his conduct should be judged as that of a sovereign beset by unscrupulous enemies, and not as that of a private person or subordinate official. In those days the Governor-General was obliged to bear his own burdens and to act on his own responsibility. Modern financial facilities were not available, and when war was on, a supply of ready cash was indispensable. That urgent need of cash for public purposes, not for private gain, gave rise to the two incidents—the affair of Rājā Chait Singh and the transactions with the Bēgams of Oudh—which furnished much material to the accusers of Hastings, and must be regarded as blots on his reputation.

The affair of Rājā Chait Singh. In 1775 the fief of Rājā Chait Singh of Benares, illegitimate son of an upstart chief, had been transferred by his suzerain, the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, to the Company, and the Rājā thus became bound to render customary service to his new lords. When called upon in 1778 to pay a contribution of five lakhs for military purposes he complied grudgingly. The similar demands made in the next two years were partially evaded, and in 1781 Hastings, being pressed for money, determined to make an example of the Rājā, who had given him offence in other ways. A fine of forty or fifty lakhs, about half a million sterling, [illegible] decided on, and Hastings went to Benares, intending to impose and levy it. Although escorted by an inadequate force, he rashly and without sufficient reason arrested Chait Singh, whose people rose, slew the Governor-General's sepoys, and forced Hastings to flee for his life to Chunar. The Rājā raised an army of forty thousand men, but Hastings never lost his head, and quickly made arrangements which resulted in the total defeat of the enemy. The main purpose of the dangerous adventure, however, failed, because the victorious army appropriated as prize-money the forty lakhs of rupees taken in the Rājā's stronghold. The Company gained no direct advantage except a

nearly doubled assessment on the estates of Chait Singh, which were made over to his nephew and were held by his descendants until the state of Benares was merged in the United Provinces in 1949. It is impossible either to deny a certain amount of harshness in the proceedings of Hastings against Chait Singh, or to acquit him of rashness in the execution of his plans.

The affair of the Bēgams of Oudh, 1782. The second incident arose out of the failure to secure Chait Singh's cash. At that time the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh, Āsaf-ud-daula, was deeply in debt to the British Government for the pay of the auxiliary troops supplied to him, and was unable to raise the money required, unless he could lay hands on the treasures held adversely to him by his mother and grandmother, known as the Bēgams of Oudh. Those treasures undoubtedly should have been treated as state property, but Hastings's hostile councillors had guaranteed them to the Bēgams as personal belongings, and had rejected the just claims of the Nawāb-Vazīr. The Bēgams having actively supported the cause of Chait Singh, Hastings felt justified in revoking the guarantee given by the council improperly and against his opinion. Troops were sent to Fyzabad, where the ladies resided, the palace eunuchs were thrown into chains and half-starved, and seventy-six lakhs of rupees were extracted. At the trial of Hastings in England these censurable facts were enormously exaggerated by the rhetoric of his accusers, made familiar to all readers in Macaulay's brilliant but untrustworthy essay. The seventy-six lakhs did not nearly exhaust the accumulations of the Bēgams, the younger of whom was 'alive and hearty and very rich' twenty-one years later, when one of the roughly-treated eunuchs also was still living, 'well, fat, and enormously rich'. Sir Alfred Lyall's judgement may be accepted, that 'the employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking'; but his award of 'serious blame' to Hastings

is partly met by the remark that Hastings did not directly order the severities.

Close of the career of Hastings. The conclusion of the treaties of Versailles and Mangalore left Hastings free to return to England, after thirteen years of rule, as Governor of Bengal for two years and a half, and as Governor-General for the rest of the time. His activity was so incessant and his services to the country so many that it is impossible to present a really fair picture of his work in small compass. But what has been said may suffice to satisfy the junior student that Warren Hastings was one of the greatest of men and a true friend of India, notwithstanding his rare errors.

Impeachment and death of Hastings. His proceedings, some of which undoubtedly were open to adverse criticism, had raised up many enemies. The opposition to his policy, stimulated by motives of English party politics, resulted in the impeachment of the ex-Governor-General by the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords.[1] The court sitting only for a few days in each year, the trial dragged on for seven years. At last, in April 1795, Hastings was acquitted on all the charges which had been pressed. The Directors having made the necessary provision for his expenses and support, he lived at Daylesford as a benevolent country gentleman until 1818, when he died in his eighty-sixth year.

Character of Warren Hastings. The character of Warren Hastings has given rise to so much bitter controversy that even now it is difficult to pass a judgement likely to command universal assent. Perhaps a general agreement may be assumed that his acquittal was right, and that his errors were not of the kind deserving of judicial penalties. Undoubtedly he was a great Englishman, devoted to the service of his country, and not unmindful of his duty to the

[1] In an impeachment the House of Commons orders and directs the prosecution, while the House of Lords sits as a court and judges the case. The process is now obsolete. The last case was that of Lord Melville in 1806.

land in which he did so much to make his nation supreme. In labour he was unwearied, in resolve inflexible, in adversity patient, in danger imperturbable, and in policy far-seeing. If he displayed at times somewhat of arrogance, or intolerance of opposition, his consciousness of superior knowledge and capacity must be his excuse. In a greedy age and surrounded by men whose god was money, he was distinguished by clean hands which scorned to grasp polluted riches. In private life he was a well-bred gentleman, of amiable manners, refined taste, and generous beyond the bounds of prudence.

British India in 1785. Annexation was not in favour with Hastings, whose acquisitions were limited to the Ghāzīpur and Benares Districts on the Ganges, and the small islands of Salsette and Elephanta, close to Bombay. When he went home, British India comprised Bengal, Bihār, a small area of Orissa, Ghāzīpur, Benares, the 'Northern Circars' (except Guntūr),[1] Madras, and a limited area adjoining, with Fort St David and some other little settlements on the east, besides Bombay, Surat, and a few other places on the west coast. Orissa (excluding Midnapur and part of Hūglī) although included in the imperial grant of the Dīwānī, was held by the Marāthās of Nāgpur, and did not come into the Company's effective possession until 1803.

CHAPTER XXV

Mr Macpherson ; Lord Cornwallis ; Pitt's India Act ; Permanent Settlement and reforms ; the third Mysore war ; Sir John Shore

Mr Macpherson ; Lord Cornwallis. Pending the arrival of a permanent successor, Warren Hastings made over charge to Mr Macpherson (afterwards Sir John), the senior Member of Council, as acting Governor-General. The home Government deeming it necessary to appoint a statesman of reputation,

[1] Ceded by the Nizām to Lord Cornwallis.

unconnected with the East India Company, to take charge of the now extensive British dominions in India, selected Earl Cornwallis. A special Act was passed in 1786 conferring upon the Governor-General that power of overruling his council which Hastings had so much missed.

Pitt's India Act, 1784. The system of the home Government was changed by Mr Pitt's India Act of 1784, which placed Indian affairs in the hands of a secret committee consisting of the chairman, vice-chairman, and senior member of the Court of Directors, acting under the supervision of a board of six commissioners, commonly called the Board of Control, appointed by the Crown. The Directors were allowed to retain the patronage, but the real power now passed to the King's ministers, of whom the President of the Board was one. Mr Dundas was appointed the first salaried President, and practically became the minister for Indian Affairs. After a short time the Board ceased to meet, the President taking action in its name. That system lasted without substantial change until 1858, when the Crown assumed the direct administration, and a Secretary of State for India was substituted for the President of the Board of Control.



LORD CORNWALLIS

Administrative reforms of Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis, when he assumed charge at Calcutta in September 1786, was vested with full authority as both Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to control all civil and military affairs of the British settlements in India, and, if necessary, to overrule

opposition by his colleagues. He also enjoyed the confidence of the Ministry at home, and thus started his work with advantages never possessed by Hastings. The first three years of his administration were devoted to internal reforms, and especially to the organization of a regular Civil Service properly paid by fixed salaries, and not by fluctuating commissions or irregular trading profits. The beginnings of this necessary reform were the work of Clive and Hastings, but neither was able to complete the change, which was effected by Lord Cornwallis with comparative ease, owing to his more favourable position.

The Permanent Settlement. The most famous measure of Lord Cornwallis was the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, concluded in 1793, when the then existing assessment of land revenue, which had been made for ten years, was declared to be perpetual. Two years later the same supposed boon was conferred upon the province of Benares,[1] The policy of the Permanent Settlement, carried out by Lord Cornwallis against the advice, but with the help, of his most esteemed councillor, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), and with the full approval of Mr Pitt and the Board of Control, is undoubtedly open to the criticism that it was adopted with undue haste, and that it imposed an unequal burden on the less-favoured parts of the empire. No attempt was made to follow the example of Todar Mall by surveying the lands or calculating their value. The assessment was made roughly on the basis of accounts of previous collections, and was necessarily done in a haphazard fashion. It is now generally agreed that the measure was a mistake, and proposals for its abolition were put forward in 1940, but postponed till the end of the war.

The author of the Permanent Settlement fancied that he would create a race of ideal landlords, eager to improve their

[1] Now included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. 'Orissa' meant Midnapur and part of Hūgli.

estates, and was not sufficiently acquainted with the facts of Indian life to know the baselessness of such a fancy. He also designed to protect the subordinate tenure-holders and cultivating tenants against the oppression of their lords, and, so far as words went, the regulations gave such protection. But, in practice, tenants with grievances had little chance of redress until long afterwards, when Act X of 1859 was passed, and provided more or less effective remedies. The difficulty of reconciling the conflicting interests of landlords and tenants in Bengal and elsewhere still continues acute in spite of much modern legislation. Of course, the provinces permanently settled have received many obvious advantages from the hasty benevolence of Lord Cornwallis, but those benefits have been gained at the expense of other provinces not less meritorious.

The Cornwallis code. Lord Cornwallis also carried out judicial reforms, supplementing the work begun by Hastings. The new courts were provided with a bulky code, prepared by Mr George Barlow, which was a monument of good intentions. But it was far too elaborate, being loaded with formalities and technical rules ill suited to a people only just delivered from the rude simplicity of Mogul jurisprudence and procedure. The courts of appeal established by Lord Cornwallis were abolished long ago, and all his detailed judicial arrangements have been modified by later legislation, but the existing system is built on his foundations. The criminal courts under his regulations were governed by the Mohammedan law, shorn of some of its more barbarous peculiarities ; mutilation, for instance, being forbidden. The English civil courts were assisted by a Hindu pundit as adviser on Hindu, and a Moslem kāzī or maulavi as adviser on Mohammedan law. The administrative arrangements of Lord Cornwallis were marred by his excessive distrust of Indian agency. Indians were excluded from office except of the most petty kind, and a burden greater than it could bear was thrown

on the covenanted Civil Service, which at that time comprised only about three hundred members and had to supply all the executive and judicial appointments of any importance.

The third Mysore war. At the time of passing the India Act Parliament had declared that 'to pursue schemes of conquest and acquisition of territory was contrary to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the British nation'. The Governor-General was also forbidden, in the absence of express sanction from home, to enter upon or make any treaty with any of the Indian princes, except in defence of the British dominions or the territory of an ally. Such a strict rule, considering the length of the voyage between England and India in those days, was absurd and could not possibly be obeyed. Absolute necessity compelled every Governor-General either to evade or violate it. Instructions given by the Directors in accordance with the Act of Parliament were honestly accepted at first by Lord Cornwallis, but long before his rule ended he had to bow to necessity and lead in person a victorious army to extensive conquests. In 1790, only thirty-three years after the battle of Plassey, an attack by Tipū, the ruler of Mysore, on distant Travancore, an ally of the British Government, compelled the Governor-General to declare war. An alliance with the Nizām and the Peshwā was arranged on the condition that all conquests should be divided equally among the three allied powers. The earlier operations of the war were unsatisfactory owing to the failure of the Madras authorities to provide supplies, and Lord Cornwallis found himself constrained to use his special powers and take command himself. In the third season's operations the British force, assisted by a contingent from Bombay, captured the outworks of Seringapatam, Tipū's capital (1792). The Sultān was forced to accept the hard terms dictated by the victor, which exacted the cession of half his dominions, the payment of three hundred lakhs (thirty

millions) of rupees, and the delivery of two of his sons as hostages. The districts thus acquired by the Company, namely, Malabar, Coorg, and parts of Salem and Madura, forming the nucleus of the Presidency of Madras, yielded a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees, then about four hundred thousand pounds sterling. The home Government confirmed the proceedings of the Governor-General, and the king raised Lord Cornwallis to the rank of marquess.

Various events ; death of Māhādajī Sindia. In 1793 the long war between France and England, caused by the French Revolution, began. In India the immediate result was the capture without difficulty of Pondicherry and the other French settlements. In the same year the charter of the East India Company was renewed for a period of twenty years, the Company's monopoly of trade being confirmed, with a small exception. While Lord Cornwallis, with the nominal help of the Peshwā, was crushing Tipū, the Marāthā chiefs in Northern India were fighting among themselves. Māhādajī Sindia in those days was the most powerful prince in the country (*ante*, p. 266), having made himself irresistible by means of an army organized by the French Count de Boigne, and other foreign officers. He inflicted a signal defeat on his rival Holkar, who also had utilized the services of European adventurers. In February 1794, Māhādajī Sindia died suddenly, bequeathing to his grand-nephew Daulat Rāo the dominant position in a large part of Mālwā and the Deccan, as well as in Hindustan, from the Sutlaj to Allahabad. In October 1793, Lord Cornwallis quitted India, making over charge to his trusted colleague Sir John Shore, and leaving behind him a high reputation for industry, dignity, honour, and integrity.

Administration of Sir John Shore ; Sikhs and Afghans. Sir John Shore, a man of peace, failed to support the Nizām, and allowed that prince to be defeated decisively by the Marāthās under the direction of Nānā Farnavīs, an able minister, at the

battle known by the name of Kardlā in 1795.[1] This weak policy of non-intervention dangerously enhanced the Marāthā power, and, of course, ensured the hostility of the Nizām. It also stimulated the ambition of Tipū, who sent embassies to the French, Afghans, and other powers, in the hope of forming a combination strong enough to expel the English from India. Zamān Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, actually entered the Panjāb in 1796 and occupied Lahore, but luckily was compelled to retire quickly on account of a Persian attack on his western provinces. Ordinarily during this period the hostility between the Sikhs and the Afghans protected India from invasion through the north-western passes. Sir Alfred Lyall has pointed out that 'the effect was to maintain among the fighting powers in Northern India an equilibrium that was of signal advantage to the English by preserving their north-west frontier unmolested during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a critical period when they were fully occupied by Mysore and the western Marāthās'.

CHAPTER XXVI

Lord Wellesley: fourth Mysore war; second Marāthā war; subsidiary alliances

Lord Wellesley assumes charge, 1798. In May 1798, Sir John Shore, who had been created an Irish peer as Lord Teignmouth, made way for a man of a different type, Richard, Earl of Mornington in the peerage of Ireland, and Baron Wellesley in that of Great Britain, who had been for four years a member of the Board of Control. Lord Wellesley, when he assumed charge, was thirty-seven years of age, in the full

[1] Farnavīs is a corruption of the Persian *fard-navīs*, and meant 'finance minister' in the Marāthā system of government. All the histories give the name of the battlefield as Kardlā, but it is Khardā, now in the Ahmadnagar District, Bombay.

vigour of his powers, and thoroughly well informed on Indian affairs as seen by the home Government. His younger brother, Arthur, afterwards the famous Duke of Wellington, was already serving at Madras in the army. The rule of Lord Wellesley, which lasted for a little more than seven years, until July 1805, has been pronounced to have been 'the most memorable in the annals of the Company', and good reasons may be alleged in support of that opinion.



LORD WELLESLEY

Preparations for war with Mysore. Immediately after his arrival the news of Tipū's intrigues with the revolutionary Government of France determined him to crush the power of Mysore and to finish the work of Lord Cornwallis. The Governor-General's plans from the first were definite, comprising a march on the capital of Mysore, the seizure of the Sultān's conquests in Malabar, the appointment of a British Resident at his court, the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service, and the compulsion on him to defray the whole expense of the war. As a preliminary the Nizām, then much weakened by the Marāthā victory at Kardlā (properly Khardā), was induced to accept a treaty which imposed on him the support of a British sepoy force of six thousand men, and required the dismissal of all the French officers in his employ. The Nizām took some part in the campaign, and was handsomely rewarded.

Fourth and last Mysore war, 1799 ; restoration of the Hindu dynasty. The war when it came was short and sharp. General Harris took command on 3 February 1799, and on the fifth of the following month his troops entered Mysore. On 4 May Tipū lay dead inside the breach in the walls of Seringapatam,

INDIA IN 1798

Approximate Boundaries

British Territory

Approximate area surrendered to the Marathas by the Nizam after Kharda

which had been stormed by General Baird and his men in seven minutes. Thus was fulfilled the saying that Haidar Alī was born to win, and Tipū to lose, a kingdom. This one exploit practically ended the war, which had carried the Governor-General farther than he had anticipated. He had planned to bridle the power of Mysore, and found that he had utterly destroyed it. The Sultān's territory was divided. The Company took Kanara, the entire sea-coast, and other districts which gave it an uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea. The Nizām received a considerable amount of lands to the north, while the Marāthās were offered, on conditions which they declined, certain smaller areas adjoining their territories. On their refusal, those lands were divided between the Nizām and the British.[1] The rest of the kingdom was assigned to a youthful representative of the old dynasty of Hindu Rājās, dispossessed by Haidar Alī. The new state thus constituted was placed under the control of a Resident.

[1] The territories acquired by the Nizām in 1792 and 1799 were given up to the Company in 1800 to pay for the support of a subsidiary force.

The young chief, Krishna Rājā Wodeyar, did well at first, but lapsed into evil ways, and in 1831 the Governor-General was obliged to deprive him of all authority, and to confide the administration directly to British officers.

Rendition of Mysore, 1881. That arrangement, with various changes of form, lasted until 1881, when Lord Ripon felt justified in again making over the state to its own Government. This event, known as the Rendition of Mysore, took place on 25 March 1881, when Mahārājā Chāma Rajendra Wodeyar, adopted son of Krisna Rājā, was installed with befitting ceremony, and the disinterested good faith of the British Government was triumphantly vindicated. The subsequent excellent administration of the state justified the confidence and generosity exhibited by Lord Ripon and the home Government.



TIPŪ SULTĀN

Significance of the destruction of Tipū's power. The splendid success of the Mysore war roused enthusiasm in all parts of British India, and the news was received in England with universal applause. The Governor-General was promoted to the rank of marquess in the peerage of Ireland, and endowed by the Directors of the Company with an annuity of five thousand pounds for twenty years. The destruction of Tipū's power was rightly recognized as being a serious blow to the schemes of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose dream of an Eastern empire had been finally dissipated in August of the preceding year (1798) by Nelson's naval victory at the battle of the Nile.

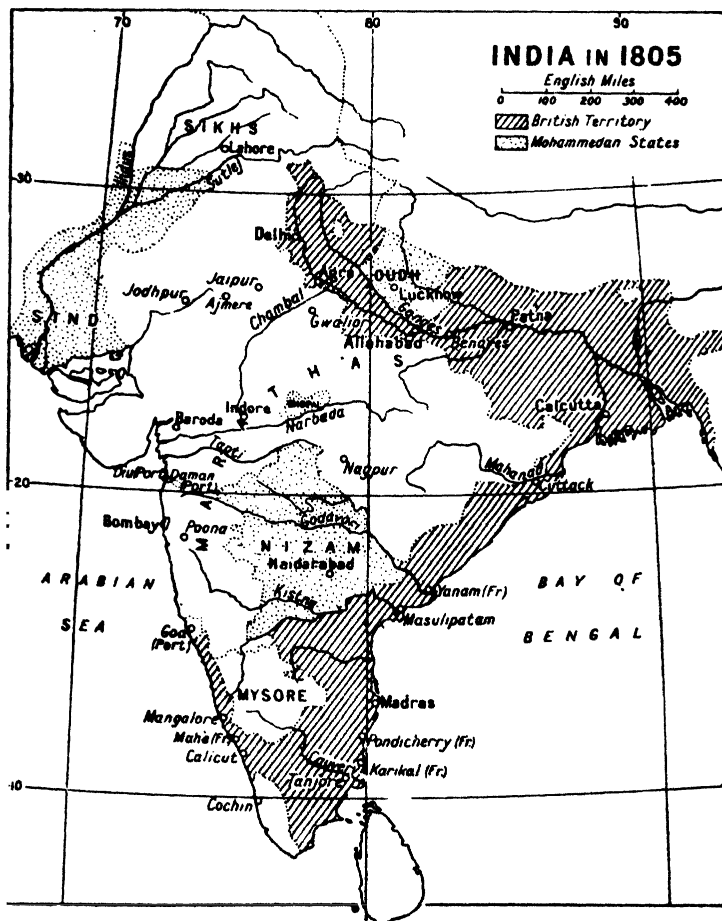
Wellesley's policy ; subsidiary alliances. The Mysore war finally pacified the south. The north and west continued to be unquiet in consequence of the domination of the restless Marāthā chiefs. Lord Wellesley aimed avowedly at the establishment of British supremacy in the whole of India, and so necessarily came into conflict with the Marāthā power. He sought to gain his end by a system of subsidiary alliances, involving the subordination of the Indian princes to the British Government in all matters of external policy, the dismissal of officers belonging to other European nations, and the acceptance of the services of a contingent of troops under the orders of the Government in India, and usually paid by an assignment of territory.

Annexation of the Carnatic. Mohammed Alī, the old Nawāb of the Carnatic, died in 1795. Six years later the Governor-General very properly annexed his territory and so got rid of the 'double government' which had lasted so long in Southern India and had caused untold misery to the people, as well as grave corruption in high places. Mohammed Alī was a thoroughly worthless person throughout his long life.

Treaty of Bassein, 1802. The wars between the rival Marāthā chiefs gave the opportunity and created the necessity for British intervention. In 1795 Ahalyā Bāi, the saintly Marāthā lady who had guided the affairs of Holkar's dominions with wisdom and justice for nearly thirty years, died, and in the scramble for the succession which followed, Jaswant Rāo Holkar, a wild and unscrupulous leader of bandits, made himself master of the state. His defeat of the Peshwā Bājī Rāo II at Poona in 1802 constrained that prince to seek British protection, and to accept from Lord Wellesley a treaty of subsidiary alliance in the usual form. The document recording the agreement is known as the Treaty of Bassein, and marks the extinction of the independent power of the Peshwās. Daulat Rāo Sindia, who had succeeded the great

Māhādajī in 1794, and the Bhonslā of Nāgpur, also known as the Rājā of Berār, at once prepared for war with the Company.

Second Marāthā war ; Assaye, Laswāri, etc. General Arthur Wellesley defeated the army of Sindia, at least seven times more numerous than his own, at Assaye, near



Aurangabad, on 23 September 1803. A little later the Bhonslā was defeated even more decisively at Argāon in Berār. The capture of the ancient Bahmanī fortress of Gāwilgarh, also in Berār, followed, and the Bhonslā was brought to his knees. By the Treaty of Deogāon he accepted a subsidiary alliance, and gave up the province of Cuttack (Katak) in Orissa. The war in Hindustan was in the competent hands of Lord Lake, who captured Aligarh, defeated the army under the command of M. Perron, the successor of de Boigne (*ante*, p. 278), and entered Delhi in September 1803. In the following month the remaining troops of Sindia were defeated at Laswāri, in the Alwar State, with great slaughter. By the Treaty of Surji Arjangāon, concluded at the end of the year, that prince surrendered all the territory in the Doāb between the Ganges and Jumna, recognized the rights of several Rājpūt chiefs, and submitted to a subsidiary alliance. Holkar remained to be subdued, and an expedition was sent against him, but he gained an unexpected advantage by the folly of Colonel Monson, a relative of his namesake, Hastings's opponent, who ' advanced without reason, and retreated in the same manner ', in south-eastern Rājputāna (1804), losing thereby nearly the whole of his force. Holkar next suffered a severe defeat at Dīg (Deeg), but was not yet wholly subjugated. Lord Lake, who did not well understand siege operations, was repulsed in repeated attempts to storm the Jat fort of Bhurtpore (Bharatpur) in 1805. The Rājā, although he succeeded in holding the fort, submitted to a treaty. The titular emperor, poor old blind Shah Ālam, was handsomely pensioned, and all pretence of regarding him as a power in the land was avowedly dropped.

Recall of Lord Wellesley. The authorities at home had long been restive at Lord Wellesley's bold policy, which seemed to them needlessly expensive, while the tone of his dispatches was not calculated to soothe their feelings. The

disaster suffered by Colonel Monson's force filled the cup. On receipt of the news, the Directors and the Board of Control resolved to recall the Governor-General, and reverse his policy through the agency of Lord Cornwallis, who was persuaded to accept office at Calcutta for the second time. As has happened so often to timid Governments, the event proved that the home authorities in seeking peace had been preparing war. Their shortsighted, although natural, caution plunged a large area of India into acute misery for many years, and resulted in a formidable war in the time of the Marquess of Hastings. Great Britain, having become the paramount power, could not enjoy the gains without assuming the duties of the position. The recall of Wellesley left the Marāthā power still face to face with the English. The struggle for mastery was bound to come.

Lord Wellesley's internal reforms and character. The primary importance of Lord Wellesley's wars in settling to a large extent the fate of India must not make us forget that the Governor-General was a scholarly man of many interests, as keen to devise internal reforms as he was determined to assert the inevitable British supremacy. The college founded by him at Fort William for the training of young civil servants was reduced by the Directors to the rank of a school of Oriental languages, but even as such it was a valuable institution. Calcutta owes to him Government House, erroneously believed to be modelled on Lord Scarsdale's mansion at Kedleston, and sundry other civic improvements. In spite of his costly wars, he improved the public credit, and brought the finances into order with the aid of Mr Tucker. Lord Wellesley's solid merits were to some extent obscured by his imperious temper, a tendency to inflated language in speech and writing, and an excessive fondness for ceremonial display. He lived until 1842, when he died at the age of eighty-two, having filled many important positions after his retirement from India.

Wars with Mysore

First, 1767-9. Ended by treaty dictated by Haidar Alī under the walls of Madras

Second, 1780-4. Ended by the Treaty of Mangalore, based on mutual cession of conquests

Third, 1790-2. Ended by peace dictated by Lord Cornwallis under the walls of Seringapatam, which deprived Tipū of half his kingdom

Fourth, March to May 1799. Ended by the death of Tipū, the capture of Seringapatam, and the partition of his kingdom, part of which was formed into a protected Hindu state

CHAPTER XXVII

Lord Cornwallis again; Sir George Barlow; Lord Minto I: abolition of trade monopoly

Lord Cornwallis; Sir George Barlow; and Lord Minto I. Lord Cornwallis, when summoned to resume charge of the Indian Government in order to carry out the policy of non-intervention, was in the sixty-seventh year of his age and feeble health, and consequently unfitted for the task imposed upon him. He reached Calcutta on 30 July 1805, and having proceeded up country, died at Ghāzīpur on 5 October. In the short interval he found time to address letters to the Directors and Lord Lake expressing in distinct terms his resolve to reverse the policy of Lord Wellesley. He found a willing disciple in Sir George Barlow, the senior Member of Council, who succeeded him as Governor-General, pending an appointment from home. Ultimately Lord Minto, President of the Board of Control, and great-grandfather of the Viceroy who succeeded Lord Curzon in 1905, was appointed Governor-General, and assumed charge on 31 July 1807.

Mutiny of Vellore, 1806. Even Sir George Barlow could not bring himself to carry out the desire of the Directors to withdraw from the Treaty of Bassein (*ante*, p. 284), and to permit the resumption by the Peshwā of his old position as head of the Marāthā states. He also insisted on maintaining the control of the Resident over the policy of the Nizām. His period of rule was marked by the mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore, where the sons of Tipū had been assigned a residence. Those princes had been rashly allowed to assemble a following of eighteen hundred men, besides some three thousand other immigrants from Mysore. Such a gathering of refugees from a recently conquered kingdom, and close to its frontiers, necessarily became a centre of disaffection, and encouraged the mutiny of the troops, which was provoked directly by injudicious orders prescribing a new form of turban and other matters of the kind. During the disturbances, one hundred and thirteen Europeans, including fourteen officers, were massacred. The Directors blamed Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, for his policy, and recalled him, a decision which he always resented as unjust.

Travancore rebellion; mutiny of officers. The new Governor-General soon discovered that, whatever his prejudices and instructions might be, he could not avoid interference with the native states. In 1808 the minister of the Rājā of Travancore in the extreme south engaged in a mad rebellion, attacking the British Resident and murdering a surgeon and thirty-three privates of the 12th Regiment. The rising was put down early in the following year. During the same year (1809) much anxiety was caused by the mutinous conduct of the officers of the army of Madras, where Sir George Barlow had been appointed Governor. Lord Minto went down to the south, but the trouble had passed before his arrival.

Bundelkhand. In Bundelkhand, as in Travancore, the Governor-General found the policy of non-intervention to be impracticable. The anarchy in that province, which had been

ceded by the Marāthās, forced him to declare that 'it was essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, but to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder'. The ensuing military operations resulted in the surrender of the fort of Ajaygarh and the capture of the famous fortress of Kāḷañjar after a difficult siege. The suppression of the growing Pindāri outrages in Central India, and the checking of Gūrkha and Burmese encroachments on the northern and north-eastern frontiers, were recognized by Lord Minto as necessary measures, but he was obliged to leave their execution to his successor, his own action in these matters being hindered by the disposition of the home Government.

Lord Minto and the Sikhs. On the north-western frontier he acted with uncompromising firmness, and did not allow himself to be deterred by the non-intervention bogy from defining the line of the Sutlaj as the frontier separating the British dominions from those of Ranjit Singh, the lord of the Panjāb. We have already noticed the early history of the Sikh sect (*ante*, p. 226), which was gradually hammered into the shape of an organized military power by its conflicts with the Afghans during the eighteenth century. After the last invasion and withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrānī in 1767 the Sikhs occupied the country between the Jumna and Rāwalpindi. Their progress was then checked by the Marāthās, but when the Marāthā power in Hindustan was broken by Lord Lake in 1803 (*ante*, p. 286), some of the Sikh chiefs between the Sutlaj and the Jumna tendered their allegiance to the victor and all looked to the British Government as their protector.

Rise of Ranjit Singh. At that time the Sikh community was organized into twelve sections or fraternities called *misls*. One of these came under the rule of Ranjit Singh, who, in 1799, when nineteen years of age, had helped Zamān Shah of Kābul in his invasion of the Pañjāb. The Afghan ruler, who

claimed the sovereignty of the country, appointed Ranjit Singh governor of Lahore. From that vantage ground the young chief gradually made himself master of the Panjāb and Kashmīr, retaining his power until his death in 1839. He followed the example of the more southern princes by engaging European adventurers to train his troops, and thus organized the fine army which fought the British so stoutly in 1846 and 1849.

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809. In 1809, encouraged by Sir George Barlow's non-intervention policy, Ranjit Singh claimed control of all the Sikh principalities between the Sutlaj and Jumna. Lord Minto, without waiting to refer home for orders, made up his mind that Ranjit Singh's pretensions could not be admitted without breach of faith to allies and imminent danger to the British possessions. The Sikh ruler naturally was unwilling to submit to dictation, but the arrival of a British army on the Sutlaj put an end to his hesitation, and on 25 April 1809, at Amritsar, he signed a brief treaty of fifteen lines establishing 'perpetual amity between the British Government and the state of Lahore'. During the remaining thirty years of his life Ranjit Singh observed this engagement with honourable fidelity. A British garrison was posted at Lūdiāna, which now became the frontier station, and so it happened that a Governor-General, appointed to carry out the non-intervention policy, practically advanced the British boundary from the Jumna to the Sutlaj.



RANJIT SINGH

Foreign embassies outside India. During the whole of Lord Minto's term of office Great Britain was engaged in the deadly, world-wide struggle with Napoleon, in which the ruler of India had to take his share. His predecessors had extinguished the French power in India; Lord Minto made it his business to curb it in the adjoining countries and surrounding seas. His Panjāb policy was partly based on the fear of French interference, and the embassies sent by him under Malcolm to Persia and Mountstuart Elphinstone to Kābul were decided on solely with the object of checkmating Napoleon's plans. A treaty with Persia was arranged, but the results hardly justified the heavy cost of the mission. The embassy intended for Kābul never arrived there in consequence of the deposition of Shah Shujā (Soojah), the Afghan ruler to whom it had been dispatched. We shall meet Shah Shujā again.

Expeditions by sea. Lord Minto's expeditions by sea were more fruitful, and testify to his broad grasp of political problems. In those days Mauritius and the neighbouring islands in the Indian Ocean to the east of Madagascar formed a French colony, which was used as the base of a privateer fleet to prey on Indian commerce. In the course of fifteen years the Mauritius privateers had plundered property of Calcutta merchants worth three millions sterling. The Governor-General determined to stop this, and in 1810 a fleet acting under his orders captured Mauritius and its dependencies. Mauritius still is a British Crown Colony, but the neighbouring island of Bourbon or Réunion was restored to France at the peace of 1815. Lord Minto's expedition to Java and the Spice Islands, Dutch colonies then under French control, was even more daring and brilliantly successful. The Governor-General, who accompanied the force intended for the reduction of Java, which was under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, made suitable arrangements for the civil government of the island. Batavia, the capital of Java, was taken after a hard fight at the end of August 1811, and the

operations, naval and military, being admirably arranged, were successful at all points. The valuable conquests so gallantly won were unfortunately surrendered at the general peace.

Abolition of the Company's monopoly of the Indian trade. The renewal of the East India Company's charter granted in 1793 (*ante*, p. 278), was to hold good for only twenty years. As the end of the term fixed drew near, a lively discussion took place, the Directors fighting to keep their monopoly, while the general public in Great Britain demanded liberty for all to take part in Eastern commerce. In the end Parliament decided to throw open the Indian trade to all comers, while maintaining the Company's exclusive rights in the China seas. On these terms the charter was renewed in 1813 for twenty years longer. At the same time permission was given for missionaries to enter India as freely as merchants, a reform also resisted strenuously by the Directors.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Lord Hastings: Nepalese, Pindāri, and Marāthā wars; Lord Amherst: first Burmese war

The Earl of Moira, Marquess of Hastings. Lord Minto was succeeded by the Earl of Moira, better known by his later title as the Marquess of Hastings, who was almost fifty-nine years of age and had seen much service in high military employ. He came out full of the doctrines of the non-intervention school then in fashion, but soon found himself constrained to act as a disciple of Lord Wellesley. He assumed charge on 4 October 1813, and ruled India until January 1823, for nine years and a quarter, without rest or holiday. After his retirement he became Governor of Malta, where he died in November 1826.

Result of non-intervention. Lord Minto, as we have seen, had done brilliant service for his country by defeating French

hostility in foreign lands and beyond the seas, where he was able to act with a free hand. But within the limits of India his action had been hampered by instructions which he could not venture to disregard altogether. The result was the accumulation of internal difficulties and the tying of knots which must be cut by the sword. Lord Hastings, consequently, when he took over the reigns of government, found 'seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms' thrust upon him, and six years of his term of office were spent in constant and unavoidable war.

Nepalese encroachments. The most pressing of the pending quarrels was that with the Gūrkhas of Nepāl, whose encroachments on British territory could not be longer endured. A Gūrkha chief having overcome the ancient principalities of the valley of Nepāl in 1768, he and his successors subsequently extended their power over the whole hill region from the frontier of Bhutan on the east to the Sutlaj on the west, and constantly sought expansion of their dominion in the richer regions of the plains. The cession of the Gorakhpur territory by the Nawāb-Vazīr of Oudh in Lord Wellesley's time had brought the British boundary to the frontier of Nepāl, and unceasing difficulties arose on the border. Before 1813 the Nepalese had seized more than two hundred villages on the British side of the ill-defined frontier. Their annexation of the districts of Būtwal and Sheorāj brought the quarrel to a head, and their refusal of restitution made war inevitable. Hostilities began in October 1814.

War with Nepāl, 1814-16. Lord Hastings, who was his own commander-in-chief, worked out an excellent plan of operations, providing for the attack on the Gūrkha positions at four widely separated points. The British force was superior to the enemy in numbers, and, in spite of the difficult nature of the country, speedy success should have been secured but for the incapacity of most of the generals employed. One of them, General Gillespie, a brilliant officer, who had

distinguished himself in Java, lost his life in making a rash frontal attack on a stockade contrary to orders, and three others muddled away their opportunities through sheer imbecility. Many lives were needlessly thrown away and little progress was made, except in Kumāon, where Colonels Nicholls and Gardner occupied Almora by a force of irregulars, and in the territories along the Upper Sutlaj, which had been invaded by a force from Lūdiāna, under the command of General (afterwards Sir David) Ochterlony, a highly capable leader. In May 1815, Ochterlony compelled the brave Gūrkha commander, Amar Singh, to surrender the fort of Malāon. The success of these operations inclined the Nepalese Government to peace, and a treaty was signed. But on second thoughts the Darbār refused to ratify it and the war began again.

Treaty of Sagauli, 1816. In February 1816, Ochterlony penetrated the hills by a daring night march and attained a position threatening Kathmāndu, the capital. The Gūrkhas then gave in and the Treaty of Sagauli was signed in March. It provided for the cession by the Nepalese of Kumāon to the west of the Kālī river, their withdrawal from Sikkim, the surrender of most of the Tarāi, or lowlands below the hills, and the acceptance of a British Resident at the court of Kathmāndu. The treaty has been observed faithfully ever since, and friendship, although with considerable reserve, has been maintained unbroken between the contracting Governments. The Gūrkha regiments recruited in Nepāl are a most valuable element in the Indian Army, and during the troubled times of the Mutiny a Nepalese force gave welcome aid to the British authorities. In the two World Wars they again freely shed their blood in the cause of the British Rāj. The sites of the hill stations of Almora, Naini Tal, Mussooree, Simla, etc., were acquired by the cession of Kumāon.

General unrest. The news of the British failures during the earlier stages of the Nepalese war excited every court in

India and raised hopes of the expulsion of the foreigner. Ranjit Singh moved troops towards the Sutlaj ; Amīr Khān, the leader of the roving Pathān bands in Rājputāna, watched events with a force of thirty thousand men and a hundred and twenty-five guns, while the Marāthā chiefs, the Peshwā, the Bhonslā of Nāgpur, Sindia, and Holkar, all began to arm. If the jealousies of these powers had permitted their effective combination at the right moment, the Governor-General had not the force to withstand them. But the 'Company's *ikbāl*', or good luck, prevailed ; the effective combination did not take place, and each of the hostile powers was overcome in due course.

The Pindāris.[1] Still more urgent than the danger from all those territorial powers was the peril caused by the Pindāri hordes of marauders, who, starting from a central position in Mālwā and the Narbadā valley, where they were loosely attached to the armies of Sindia and Holkar, ravaged India with fiendish cruelty from Gujarāt to Ganjām. The Pindāris, first heard of during the struggles between Sivājī and Aurangzeb, had grown enormously in numbers and strength during the century of anarchy which followed the death of the Great Mogul. They were bands of lawless men, drawn from all castes and classes, who took advantage of the absence of a strong Government to make their living by organized plunder. Mounted on hardy ponies, a body of two or three thousand men could cover fifty miles a day, harry a district, and be far away with their booty long before any regular troops could appear. They worked in conjunction with the Marāthās, one division being specially connected with Holkar and another with Sindia. Towards the end of 1815 the Pindāris laid waste the Nizām's Dominions as far south as the Kistna (Krishnā) river, and early in the next year ravaged the 'Northern Circars', which had enjoyed security for half a

[1] The origin of the word Pindāri is uncertain. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*.

century. The Governor-General reported the case of a village in which the inhabitants had been driven to the

'desperate resolution of burning themselves with their wives and children. . . . Hundreds of women belonging to other villages have drowned themselves in the wells, not being able to survive the pollution they had suffered. All the young girls are carried off by the Pindāris, tied three or four, like calves, on a horse, to be sold. . . . They carried off booty to the value of more than a million sterling.'

Nevertheless, the authorities in England, fearing a war with Sindia, hesitated to permit the punishment of the villains, and their timidity was shared by Lord Hastings's councillors at Calcutta. But at last, early in 1817, the council could no longer shirk the decision that 'vigorous measures for the suppression of the Pindāris had become an indispensable object of public duty'. Lord Hastings then took the necessary measures to organize his forces and to smooth their path by diplomacy.

Plan of campaign. The plan devised provided for the surrounding of the Pindāri lair in Mālwā, by a converging force of about a hundred and twenty thousand men, divided into eight sections or divisions, comprised in two armies, the southern under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and the northern led by the Governor-General in person. The force, the largest ever collected up to that time under the British flag in India, was provided with three hundred guns, and comprised about thirteen thousand Europeans. A skilful movement subjected Sindia to such pressure that he reluctantly signed a treaty binding him to assist the English, and the circle was closed round the Pindāris. But the operations of the Governor-General were much hindered by the sudden outbreak of an epidemic of cholera, and some of the ruffians broke through the line.[1]

[1] The common belief that cholera first appeared in India in 1817 is mistaken.

Third Marāthā war. Operations were prolonged by a general rising of the Marāthā powers, excepting Sindia and the Gaikwār, and the hunt of the Pindāris became merged in the third Marāthā war. During November and December 1817, the Peshwā, the Bhonslā, and Holkar successively took up arms. Bājī Rāo II, the Peshwā, having been decisively beaten by a small British force at Kirkī near Poona (13 November 1817), was driven as a fugitive from his capital. The Bhonslā was defeated thirteen days later at Sītābaldī, near Nāgpur, in one of the most brilliant actions of the war ; and Holkar was routed at Mahīdpur on the Sipra river, to the north of Ujjain (21 December 1817). Amīr Khān, the leader of the Pathān host of rovers, was induced to settle down as Nawāb of Tonk, now in Rājasthān, where his successors still flourish. Karīm Khān, one of the Pindāri leaders, was given an estate in Gorakhpur, still enjoyed by his descendants ;[1] another leader, weary of being hunted, ended his life by poison, and Chītū, the most famous of all the bandit captains, was driven into a jungle, where he was killed by a tiger. On 1 January 1818, the Peshwā suffered another defeat at Koregāon near Poona, and, a few days later, yet another at Ashtī, where his gallant general, Bāpū Gokhale, met a soldier's death. The Peshwā, who was no hero, surrendered to Sir John Malcolm, whom he persuaded into promising him the extravagant pension of eight lakhs a year. With this allowance he was sent into retirement at Bithūr, near Cawnpore. Nānā Sahib, notorious for his cruelty in the Mutiny, was the adopted son of Bājī Rāo II, the last Peshwā. Lord Hastings, following the Mysore precedent, sought out a descendant of Sivājī, and presented him with a portion of the Marāthā dominion under the title of Rājā of Sātārā. The rest of the country was annexed to the British dominions, and the Presidency of Bombay thus was extended to nearly its largest dimensions in India proper. The Bhonslā's territory also was annexed

[1] Now in the Bastī District, separated from Gorakhpur in 1865.

in part, and in part made a protected state. It now largely forms the Central Provinces. Holkar, treated with less severity, was allowed to retain the districts which constituted the state of Indore. The final operation in the war was the capture in 1819 of Asīrgarh, the famous stronghold in Khāndesh, but the contest had been decided early in 1818.

Achievement of Lord Hastings. In the long roll of brilliant Governors-General the name of the Marquess of Hastings deserves a place of the highest honour in virtue of personal achievement. In October 1817 he was confronted by forces of more than a hundred and fifty thousand men—Pindāris, Marāthās, and Pathāns—with five hundred guns. Four months later the power of Sindia was paralysed, that of Holkar broken, the Pathān armies of Amīr Khān and Ghafūr Khān had ceased to exist, the Rājā of Nāgpur was a captive, the Peshwā was a fugitive and the Pindāris had disappeared. The campaign finally extinguished the Marāthā empire, at which Lord Wellesley had struck the first blow. This great and necessary work, by which countless millions were delivered from cruel tyranny, was done by Lord Hastings alone, in the teeth of opposition from colleagues and superiors.

Fall of the Marāthā empire. The armies defeated by Lord Lake, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the Marquess of Hastings had little distinct Marāthā character, being filled up with Moslems, vagabond Europeans, and rascals of all sorts. Those armies were closely associated with the purely criminal gangs of Pindāri marauders, 'the refuse of the Mahratta armies', as Grant Duff calls them. The connexion was so close that the operations of the Marquess of Hastings, directed primarily against the Pindāri hordes, passed almost insensibly into war with the Marāthā Governments. The Marāthā empire thus ended its brief and chequered career. The first four Peshwās, Bālājī Visvanāth, Bājī Rāo I, Bālājī Bājī Rāo, and Mādho Rāo, had been brave men and able administrators. But after this, the dynasty collapsed. Nārāyan Rāo (1772-3)

was murdered by his uncle Raghoba just after his accession. His son Mādho Rāo Nārāyan committed suicide. The death of the great and far-sighted minister, Nānā Farnavīs, in 1796, was the last straw. Bājī Rāo II was cowardly and dissolute. The battle of Pānīpat had dealt the Marāthā nation a blow from which it never recovered.

The student should realize that the year 1818 marks an epoch in the history of India.

Internal administration. The internal administration of the Marquess achieved notable progress. Laying down the maxim that 'it would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude', he established and encouraged schools and colleges, and permitted the issue of the first Indian-language newspaper. The 'ryotwari' settlement of the Madras territories was carried out by Sir Thomas Munro, and the imperial finances were administered with success and enhanced credit. Much was done to improve Calcutta; the ancient Jumna canal near Delhi (*ante*, p. 118) was reopened and many other works of public utility were executed.

Lord Amherst ; Barrackpore mutiny ; Bhurtpore. The government was carried on for seven months after Lord Hastings's departure (1 January to 1 August 1823) by Mr Adam, the senior Member of Council. He was relieved by Lord Amherst, who, like most of the Governors-General, sought peace and found war. Before narrating the story of the Burmese war, the principal event of his term of office, we must notice the two other most memorable incidents—the mutiny at Barrackpore and the capture of Bhurtpore. The mutiny of the 47th Native Infantry at Barrackpore, under the windows of the Governor-General's country house, caused by the unwillingness of the sepoys to proceed to Burma, was sternly suppressed (October 1824).

The operations against Bhurtpore arose out of a disputed succession to the principality, which rendered necessary the intervention of the Government in India. It is to be noted that on this occasion the Governor-General in Council stood forth avowedly as 'the paramount power and conservator of the general peace'. After a short siege the fortress, before which Lord Lake had failed in 1805 (*ante*, p. 286), was stormed by Lord Combermere, and the general belief that it could never be taken was destroyed (January 1826).

First Burmese war. At about the same time as the English conquered Bengal, an adventurer named Alaungprā (Alompra) founded an aggressive dynasty in Burma (1752-60). He and his successors extended their conquests into Assam, Cāchār, and Manipur, and threatened the British frontier Districts of Sylhet and Chittagong. The Burmese had an unbounded conceit of themselves, and went so far as to require the Marquess of Hastings to surrender Eastern Bengal, including Dacca and Murshīdābād. In 1824 their defiant seizure of a British outpost compelled Lord Amherst to declare war, which the Burmese awaited with eager confidence. The Governor-General, who did not possess his predecessor's military genius, was advised that the occupation of the port of Rangoon by a naval expedition would quickly prove decisive. The occupation was easily effected by a force sent from Madras, but sickness and the want of supplies crippled the troops. Assam was occupied early in 1825 by General Richards, but attempts to enter Burma overland failed, and a detachment was cut up at Rāmū on the Chittagong frontier. The campaign, as a whole, was badly planned, and much preventible loss was incurred; ultimately, however, when Prome was occupied, and the Burmese capital threatened, the king was forced to sue for peace. In February 1826 the Treaty of Yandabo was signed, which ceded to Great Britain the provinces of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim. The king further agreed to abstain from all interference in Cāchār, Jaintia, and Manipur, and to

pay an indemnity.[1] Thus, in spite of many errors in planning and execution, the war ended in a triumphant success for British arms, and the acquisition of extensive provinces then little esteemed, but now recognized as possessing high value. The annexation closed up the north-eastern frontier of the empire and protected it against foreign aggression.

The Marāthā Wars

First, 1775-82. Warren Hastings Governor-General; Convention of Wargāon, 1779; capture of Gwalior, 1780; ended by the Treaty of Sālbāi, 1782. (Some writers treat this war as two wars, namely, the first, up to the Treaty of Surat, and the second, from 1779 to 1782)

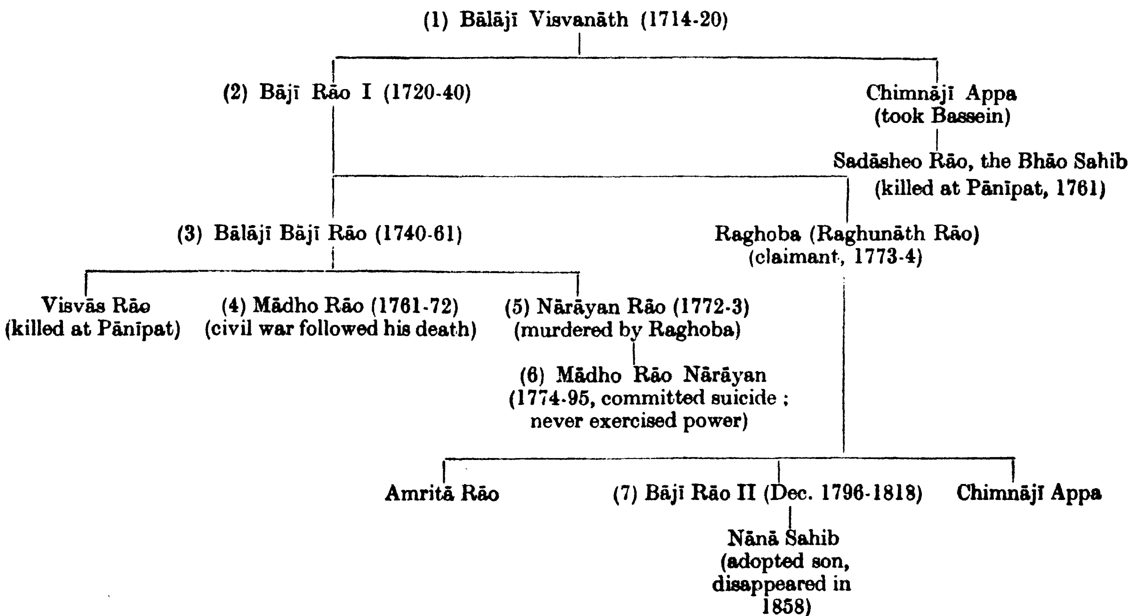
Second, 1803. Lord Wellesley, Governor-General; battles of Assaye, Argāon, and Laswāri; occupation of Delhi; ended by the Treaties of Surji Arjangāon and Deogāon. War with Holkar, 1805

Third, 1817-19. Lord Hastings, Governor-General; battles of Kirkī, Sītābaldī, Mahīdpur, Ashtī, and Koregāon; ended by the capture of Asīrgarh, and general pacification by nineteen treaties

Sindia was subsequently defeated in 1843. His descendant is now Mahārājā of Gwalior

[1] Assam and Arakan were attached to Bengal. Tenasserim was placed under a Commissioner responsible directly to the Government in India.

THE FAMILY OF THE SEVEN PESHWĀS



CHAPTER XXIX

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck, commonly called Lord William **Bentinck : reforms ; charter of 1833 ; Sir Charles Metcalfe and the press**

Lord William Bentinck. After the departure of Lord Amherst, Mr Butterworth Bayley acted as Governor-General until the arrival, in July 1828, of Lord William Bentinck, who had been recalled from Madras twenty-one years earlier, and had since held various appointments. The India of 1828 was very different from the India of 1807, and Lord William, during his long term of office, nearly seven years, was able to devote himself almost exclusively to the business of internal administration and reform. When he became Governor-General the only independent powers left in India were the Sikhs of the Panjāb and the Amīrs of Sind, whose subjugation was reserved for his successors. The friendship between the Government in India and Ranjit Singh was solemnly affirmed in 1831, when Lord William Bentinck met the Sikh potentate at Rūpar on the Sutlaj with splendid ceremony.



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

Annexation of Cāchār and Coorg ; Mysore. But even the most peaceful of the rulers of India was unable to escape the necessity for small annexations. The Rājā of the principality of Cāchār, to the east of Sylhet, given up by the Burmese

under the provisions of the Treaty of Yandabo, having been murdered, leaving no heirs, the Governor-General acceded to the prayers of the inhabitants and annexed the country. It now forms a valuable District in the prosperous province of Assam, and is largely occupied by European tea-planters. The little province of Coorg, lying between Mysore and the Malabar coast, had the misfortune to come under the rule of a mad Rājā, who treated his people with ferocious cruelty and exterminated all his male relatives. Lord William Bentinck was obliged to occupy the province, and, with the full consent of the people, to depose the Rājā, in May 1834. Till 1949, Coorg was governed by a Commissioner, subordinate to the Resident of Mysore, but is now a Chief Commissioner's province under the Government of India.

The action of Lord William's Government in Mysore has been noticed above (*ante*, p. 283).

Opinions on Lord William's policy. In dealing with the protected states Lord William Bentinck showed hesitation and was not always successful, but the significance of his term of office lies in his internal administration, of which we must now give a brief account. Like all reformers he excited bitter hostility, which has found expression in Thornton's *History*, but general opinion has settled down to a favourable verdict on his policy, and on the whole endorses the eulogium recorded in the inscription on his statue at Calcutta, composed by Lord Macaulay, his friend and colleague, which extols him as the man who 'ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence', and 'whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nation committed to his charge'.

Finance. The Burmese war having caused a deficit of a million sterling, the Governor-General was constrained to pay close attention to finance. Additions to revenue were obtained by improved organization of the opium monopoly and by the revision of land settlements in the Agra provinces

and in Madras. The precedent of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was not followed in either the north or the south. The Madras assessments had been made under the able supervision of Sir Thomas Munro on the 'ryotwari' system of direct contracts between the Government and the cultivators for a term of years. The assessments of the Agra or North-Western Provinces were generally confirmed for thirty years, and the contracts were made, not with large proprietors as in Bengal, but with the village zemindars, or their representatives.

Army. Extensive economies were effected in both the civil and military services. The cessation of war gave opportunities for profitable retrenchments, and in 1831 Lord William Bentinck took a free hand by assuming the office of Commander-in-Chief in addition to that of Governor-General. His studies of military organization led him to form a poor opinion of the Indian army, which he stigmatized in a confidential minute as 'the least efficient and most expensive in the world'. After the general settlement effected by the Marquess of Hastings in 1818 the spirit of the sepoys had rapidly declined, and the army was not nearly as good as it had been in Lord Lake's time. The events of the Mutiny in 1857 proved that Lord William understood the defects of the Indian system much better than most people. He appreciated the strategical advantages given by steam power in navigation, at that time a novelty, and did much to develop communication with Europe by the Red Sea and Suez route. He also formed a just estimate of the importance of Singapore in Malacca, acquired finally by treaty with the Dutch in 1824, and made it the capital of the Straits Settlements. Constant tours enabled Lord William to exercise supervision over all branches of the administration and to acquire personal knowledge of local needs.

Prohibition of suttee. The most famous reform associated with his name is the prohibition of suttee (*satī*), enacted in

1829. The Regulation declared 'the practice of suttee, or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts', and rightly pronounced it to be 'revolting to the feelings of human nature, and nowhere enjoined by the religion of the people as an imperative duty'. The practice had attained terrible prevalence in Bengal, where in some years eight hundred or more women had been sacrificed, and the only strenuous opposition to Lord William's measure came from Bengal. A better feeling on the subject exists now, and it is to be hoped that it is no longer necessary to defend the prohibition, which was enacted owing to the zeal and courage of the Governor-General.

Thuggee. Another social reform was effected by the suppression of thuggee (*thaḡī*), the practice of wholesale strangling for the sake of plunder by strong armed gangs who infested the highways of every province in India except the Konkan, and inveigled unwary travellers to their death. More than three thousand of the Thugs were arrested, and an elaborate system of detection and punishment was organized, under the control of Major (Sir William) Sleeman, which extirpated the system almost completely.

Employment of Indians and judicial reforms. Lord William Bentinck's judicial reforms and arrangements for the employment of people of the country in appointments hitherto reserved for Europeans were intimately associated with his financial economies. The practical exclusion of Indians from all official employment except of the most humble kind, which was the blot on the arrangements of Lord Cornwallis, had, in addition to its other demerits the objection of expense. Lord William's measures threw open to Indian candidates responsible employment in the judicial and executive service, with the ultimate result that Indian judges gained seats in all the High Courts as well as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the bulk of the judicial and administrative business of the country was done by

the people of it. In 1910 Indians were appointed to the Executive Councils of the Supreme and Provincial Governments. The dilatory Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit established by Lord Cornwallis were abolished and replaced by a more workable system, which need not be described in detail.

English education. Important as were the reforms indicated in the preceding pages, some observers give an even higher place to 'the momentous decision to make the English language the official and literary language' of the country, and regard that decision as the event which makes the administration of Lord William Bentinck a landmark in Indian history. Previous Governors, Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Hastings especially, had not been unmindful of the claims of oriental literature on the attention of the rulers of India, but the idea of a general system of education was first brought forward during the discussions concerning the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833. Among other things, the new charter provided for the appointment of a Law Member to the Governor-General's Council. The first holder of the office was Mr Thomas (Lord) Macaulay, afterwards famous as the historian of England. His influence decided the Government, as against the advocates of purely oriental learning, to accept his view that 'it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed'. The possibility has been abundantly demonstrated, and the existing system of education in India is based on the lines laid down by Macaulay. That system is open to much criticism, but few of its critics will dispute the propriety of the decision to make the English language the vehicle for higher instruction.

The charter of 1833. In 1813 the Indian trade had been thrown open to all comers (*ante*, p. 293), and the Company had been allowed to retain its monopoly only in the commerce

with China. As the time approached for another renewal of the charter, reform of all kinds was in the air, the English Reform Act having been passed in 1832, and it was clear that the last vestige of monopoly must go. The main question at issue was whether the Crown should take over the direct administration of the Indian empire, now an established fact, or continue to exercise its powers through the medium of the Company. The Ministry of the day not feeling ready to undertake the direct government, Parliament preferred to continue the use of the Company's machinery. But the Company ceased to exist as a commercial body ; its assets were bought at a valuation, and its organization became merely an extra wheel in the mechanism of the Imperial Government.

That was the main effect of the legislation of 1833, although other important changes were effected. The Government in India was now formally empowered to pass laws, and its statutes were given the title of Acts instead of Regulations. At the same time Madras and Bombay were deprived of the legislative power,[1] and, as already mentioned, a Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council. A Commission was appointed to devise a system of Anglo-Indian law, and after many years its labours resulted in the existing Codes. The North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces) were formed into a fourth Presidency, but soon afterwards they were reduced to the standing of a lieutenant-governorship. Europeans were permitted to hold lands, and a declaration was recorded that 'no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour'.

Eminent men of the period. The review of Lord William Bentinck's memorable administration may be closed by mentioning the names of some of the illustrious men, British and Indian, who adorned the period. The Indian career of

[1] Afterwards restored.

Mountstuart Elphinstone ended the year before Lord William's arrival, when he was succeeded as Governor of Bombay by Sir John Malcolm. Elphinstone's history of India during the Mohammedan period, although no longer adequate, has not lost its reputation, and Malcolm's account of Central India and other works are still standard authorities. James Prinsep laid the foundation for the scientific study of Indian antiquities and early history ; Horace Hayman Wilson and other scholars handed on the torch of Sanskrit learning received from the hands of Sir William Jones and Colebrooke. Colonel James Tod, author of the inimitable *Annals of Rājasthān*, retired in 1823 and died twelve years later. Another famous historian of the period is Grant Duff, who told the story of the Marāthās in a work which ranks as an original authority. His namesake, the Rev. Alexander Duff, was one of many eminent missionaries who were the pioneers of education in India. Rājā Rāmmohan Rāi, the founder of the Brahmo Samāj, and a zealous opponent of suttee, died in England in 1833. Isvar Chandra Gupta, editor of a Bengalī newspaper in 1830, is famous as a poet in his mother-tongue.

Sir Charles Metcalfe and the press. The short term of office of Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest of the Company's servants, who held charge pending the arrival of Lord William Bentinck's successor, is memorable for the Act repealing all restrictions on the press, which at that time was almost wholly confined to Calcutta and in European hands. The censorship, introduced during the French wars in order to prevent communication of intelligence to the enemy, was withdrawn in 1818 by Lord Hastings, and replaced by the issue of rules, which editors were required to obey. Mr Adam, who deported the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, made the rules more stringent. Lord William Bentinck, while making no change of system and maintaining that the press should be subject to 'rigid control', ordinarily allowed the journalists a free hand. Sir Charles Metcalfe, believing in absolute freedom,

passed an Act applicable to the whole of India, removing all checks on the press. Anarchical conspiracies having shown the dangers of 'the liberty of unlicensed printing', both the Government of India and the protected states were subsequently obliged to reimpose certain restrictions.

CHAPTER XXX

Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, and Hardinge I: first Afghan war; conquest of Sind; war with Sindia; first Sikh war

Lord Auckland; first Afghan war. Changes in the English Ministry caused some delay in choosing a successor to Lord William Bentinck. Ultimately the choice fell on Lord Auckland, a respectable Whig politician, who arrived in Calcutta on 5 March 1836. He proved himself in my judgement, the weakest and most mischievous of the Governors-General. On more than one occasion he showed a disregard for honest, truthful dealing. In Lord Minto's time, when Napoleon was at the height of his power and the Tsar of Russia was his humble servant, embassies had been sent from Calcutta to Kābul, Sind, and Persia with the object of securing the north-western frontier against French ambition working through Russian agency. When Lord Auckland came out, Napoleon was dead, French dreams of interference in the affairs of Asia had vanished, and Russia had recovered freedom of action.[1] She had used that freedom on her own behalf to extend her dominion in Central Asia to the east of the Caspian Sea and to acquire a commanding influence at the court of Persia.

The Russian advance was regarded by some politicians in both England and India as a menace to India, and when the Persians besieged Herat, Lord Auckland was much alarmed.

[1] Napoleon died at St Helena in 1821, having been confined in the island since 1815.

He came to the conclusion, in agreement with Lord Palmerston and other Ministers in England, that the best way to check Russia was to support Shah Shujā, then living as an exile in the Panjāb (*ante*, p. 292), in his claim to the Afghan throne, at that time occupied by Dost Mohammed Barakzai, who was believed to be under Russian influence. In 1838 a 'tripartite treaty' was drawn up between the Government in India, Shah Shujā, and Ranjit Singh, and an army was sent into Afghanistan. The troops advanced through both the Bolān and Khyber Passes with great difficulty, and occupied Kandahār, Ghaznī, and Kābul. Dost Mohammed surrendered and Shah Shujā was enthroned.

But the Afghans did not want him, and in 1841 they rose, murdered Sir William Macnaghten, the Political Agent, and forced the British out of Kābul. The English commanders and political officers were incompetent, the troops lost heart, and in January 1842, the entire Kābul force of about fifteen thousand souls, including followers, when trying to retire through the Khyber Pass, was utterly destroyed, excepting about a hundred and twenty prisoners and one officer, Dr Brydon, who made his way, wounded and exhausted, to Jalālabad, where General Sale held out.

Lord Ellenborough ; the avenging army. After this disaster, the worst which had ever befallen the British in India, Lord Auckland was relieved in the ordinary course by Lord Ellenborough. With some hesitation he sanctioned the advance of General Nott from Kandahār and General Pollock through the Khyber Pass to Kābul. The great bazaar there was blown up, the prisoners were recovered, and the avenging army returned to India. Meantime Shah Shujā had been killed, and the Government in India wisely resolved not to meddle any more in Afghanistan. Dost Mohammed was allowed to return to the vacant throne without conditions, and retained it until his death at a great age in 1863. Everybody is now agreed that the policy of Lord Auckland and

Lord Palmerston was mistaken. Lord Ellenborough welcomed the returning army with unbecoming festivities and boastful proclamations, which produced an unfavourable impression in India and Europe.

Conquest of Sind. The Governor-General, who was dissatisfied with the Amīrs of Sind for their conduct during the Afghan war, was anxious to annex that province, and his sentiments were shared by his agent, Sir Charles Napier, who conducted the negotiations with the chiefs in a provocative spirit, which goaded the people into open hostility. In February 1843, the Residency was attacked by a mob of Balōchis, and war began. The Amīrs having been defeated in a fiercely contested battle at Miānī, near Hyderabad, and in other fights, the country was annexed and subsequently attached to the Presidency of Bombay. The military operations were well managed, but the crooked policy which led to the war cannot be justified. The annexation was followed by mutinies of the sepoy regiments stationed in the province, which were dealt with in a feeble fashion.

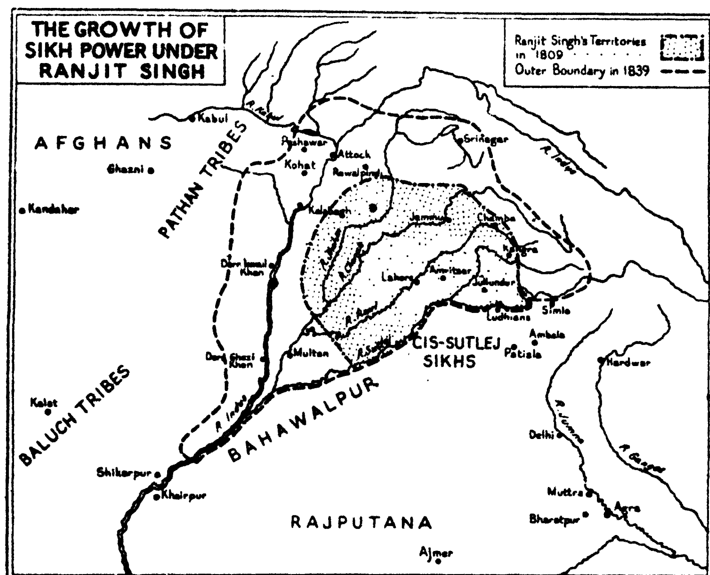
Gwalior affairs. About the same time trouble arose in Gwalior, owing to the death of Jankojī Sindia without issue. A son having been adopted by the widow, Tārā Bāi, a regent was appointed with the sanction of the Government in India. Palace intrigues expelled the regent, and the Resident was obliged to withdraw. The peace of the country being threatened by the arrogance of the Gwalior army, which was too strong for the state, Lord Ellenborough and the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, brought up troops as a precaution, and demanded the reduction of the local force. Negotiations failed, and the inevitable conflict took place at Mahārājpur, near Gwalior (29 December 1843). The army of Sindia was defeated after a hard fight, and on the same day another battle took place at Paniār. The requisite steps were then taken to ensure the subordination of the Gwalior State to the paramount power, but no territory was annexed.

Sir Henry Hardinge (Lord Hardinge I). The Directors, with good reason, being dissatisfied with Lord Ellenborough's conduct of affairs, recalled him, and appointed in his place Sir Henry Hardinge, a distinguished military officer, who was fifty-nine years of age, and, like all his predecessors, came out as the friend of peace. But, like most of them, he found his business to be not peace but war. From the moment of his arrival he was compelled to take precautions against the threatening attitude of the Sikh army in the Panjāb, and to strengthen the garrisons on the frontier.

The Sikhs after Ranjit Singh's death. When Ranjit Singh died in 1839, during the Afghan war, he was nominally succeeded by his imbecile son, Kharak Singh. A series of intrigues and murders ensued, resulting in the proclamation as Mahārājā of Dilīp (Dhuleep) Singh, a child five years of age, falsely reputed to be a son of Ranjit Singh. But all real authority was in the hands of the *panchāyats*, or committees commanding the powerful army of the Khālsā, as the Sikh community was called. At last the Rānī, the mother of Dilīp Singh, and two of her friends, Lāl Singh and Tej Singh, were constrained to tempt the army which was beyond their control by holding out the promise of the plunder of Delhi, and to give the order to cross the Sutlaj. Early in December 1845, a force of nearly sixty thousand Sikhs, with numerous camp-followers and guns, crossed the river, the boundary fixed by Lord Minto in 1809, and so declared war.

The Sutlaj campaign : four battles, 1845-6. On 18 December 1845, the British army, taken by surprise and attacked at Mudkī (Moodkee), was victorious, but at a heavy cost. Three days later, the same force, strengthened by fresh troops, attacked the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozeshah (properly Phīrūshahr), in the Fīrōzpur District about twelve miles from the Sutlaj. The battle lasted for two days, and after a desperate struggle, in which the British army lost over two thousand four hundred in killed and wounded, the

entrenchments were carried and the Sikhs compelled to retreat. In this battle the Governor-General, in order to encourage the men, chivalrously served as second in command to Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief. Five of his aides-de-camp were killed and four wounded. A few days later a third battle was fought at Aliwāl in the Lūdiāna District, and again the Sikhs were worsted. The



final struggle took place at Sobrāon (Subrāhān) on the bank of the Sutlaj, where the Sikhs were strongly entrenched and defended by powerful artillery. They were driven into and across the river with a loss of about ten thousand men. The casualties on the British side also were heavy, nearly two thousand four hundred. Thus, in less than two months four great battles had been fought and won, and the Panjāb lay at the disposal of the victors. The Governor-General and

Commander-in-Chief received peerages, and honours never were more hardly earned or better deserved.

Treaties of Lahore. Lord Hardinge did not wish to annex the whole province, nor at the time had he the means to do so. A treaty concluded a Lahore stipulated for the reduction of the Sikh army and the surrender of the guns used in the war. Major Henry Lawrence was left at the capital with a British force, and after a short time a fresh treaty was drawn up providing for a regency under British control during the Mahārājā's minority. Gulāb Singh, an upstart chief who was already in possession of Jamū, was guaranteed in his position as ruler of that country and allowed to occupy Kashmīr on payment of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. The Sikhs thus lost the control of the hill regions, and were further weakened by the cession to the Company of the tract between the Sutlaj and Biās. At the beginning of 1848 Lord Hardinge returned to England, and was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie.

Civil reforms. Amid the clash of arms the voice of the reformer is little heard. The whole history of Lord Auckland's administration is contained in that of the Afghan disaster, but some civil progress was effected in the time of his successors. Lord Ellenborough's Government carried out two notable reforms, the abolition of slavery and the prohibition of state lotteries. Lord Hardinge is entitled to the credit of having pushed on the construction of the Ganges canal, and taken effective steps to check the practice of suttee in the protected states.

CHAPTER XXXI

Lord Dalhousie: second Sikh war; second Burmese war; doctrine of lapse; annexations; material progress

Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie, a brilliant young Scottish nobleman with some official experience, and only thirty-five years of age, took over charge at Calcutta in January 1848, receiving from his predecessor an assurance that so far as human foresight could predict, 'it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come'. A year later the Governor-General's army fought the Sikhs in two deadly battles, and the Panjāb became British territory. Then for three years there was peace, followed by the second Burmese war and the annexation of Pegu. Such is human foresight.



MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE

Second Sikh war; battles of Chilianwālā and Gujarāt. The arrangements for the government of the Panjāb made by Lord Hardinge on the lines of the Wellesley policy, and obviously unstable, temporary makeshifts, did not last long. The trouble began at Multān, held by a governor named Mūlrāj in practical independence. He resigned his office when the new administration came into power, and two young British officers were sent to take over charge. Disputes having arisen, the officers were attacked and murdered, and Mūlrāj went into open rebellion. The revolt quickly spread over the whole province and war became inevitable. 'Unwarned by precedent,

uninfluenced by example,' said the Governor-General in October, 'the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance.' They got it. Multān, after a gallant defence, was taken on 28 January 1849, Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, having fought a bloody battle at Chilianwālā, on the Jihlam, on the 13th. The conflict has been unjustly described as 'an evening battle fought by a brave old man in a passion'. In reality, Lord Gough, who had intended to encamp, was forced to fight by the Sikhs' moving from their entrenchments. Darkness coming on, the Sikh army retired a short distance, but the British lost four guns and the colours of three regiments. Both sides claimed the victory, and the contest may be called a drawn battle. The authorities in England blamed Lord Gough, and ordered his supersession by Sir Charles Napier. But before the new Commander-in-Chief could arrive, Lord Gough, on 21 February 1849, retrieved his reputation by winning at Gujarāt, in the District of that name, near the Chināb river, a victory so complete that the Sikhs had no option but unconditional submission.

Annexation of the Panjāb. Lord Dalhousie rightly decided on annexation, suitable provision being made for the young Mahārājā and other people with claims. The annexation of the Panjāb completed the extension of British dominion over the whole of India proper. The Governor-General practically took over the government himself, working through a Board of three commissioners, replaced after a time by a Chief Commissioner, who afterwards developed into a Governor. In Lord Dalhousie's time the real authority, even when Sir John Lawrence was Chief Commissioner, vested in the Governor-General, the local ruler being his agent. Under the fostering care of Lord Dalhousie and the able officers chosen by him, the province rapidly advanced in prosperity, and the Sikh soldiers, who had fought so bravely against the British power, became its loyal supporters. In the Mutiny,

the Panjāb was a tower of strength to the Government, and since then many of its gallant sons have given their lives on many fields in the cause of their sovereign. A Sikh battalion took part in the Burmese war only three years after the annexation of the Panjāb.

Second Burmese war, 1852. After an interval of three years' peace another war was forced upon Lord Dalhousie by the arrogance of the king of Burma, who committed various outrages on British subjects, refused redress, and deliberately insulted the officers deputed to demand it. War was declared, and in April 1852, the pagoda at Rangoon was captured and the town occupied. The taking of Prome followed in October, and in December the war was ended by a proclamation annexing the province of Pegu, the inhabitants of which eagerly accepted deliverance from Burmese cruelties.[1] No treaty was made because the court of Ava declined to negotiate. The conduct of the operations presented a strong contrast to the proceedings of 1824 under the feeble guidance of Lord Amherst. Lord Dalhousie saw to everything himself, and took care that everything should be well done. The annexation of Pegu completely shut off Upper or independent Burma from the sea.

The doctrine of lapse. No ruler of India surpassed, or perhaps equalled, Lord Dalhousie in strength of will, love of justice, and devotion to duty. He gave his life to India and his country. He came out a young man in his prime ; after eight years of office he returned a cripple on crutches, fit only for death, which was not long delayed. Those eight years were crowded with unceasing labours, dedicated in large part to the affairs of the Indian states. The system of subsidiary alliances, started by Lord Wellesley and continued by his successors, was a necessary stage in the relations between the

[1] Pegu was placed in charge of a Commissioner. The province of Lower Burma, including Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, was not formed until 1862.

protected states and the paramount power, but by the middle of the nineteenth century it had served its purpose. Nearly all the princes who occupied their thrones under British protection abused their powers, lived lives of selfish indulgence, and misgoverned their subjects. Lord Dalhousie, therefore, was convinced that the subjects of any Indian state would benefit immensely by the substitution of direct British government for the rule of a licentious prince, freed by the protection of superior authority from the restraints imposed by the fear of revolt.[1] Wherever he turned—to Oudh, the Panjāb, or elsewhere—he found the same abuses. He was thus led, in the interests of the people, to act systematically on the doctrine of lapse—that is to say, he refused to acknowledge the right of a childless Rājā or Nawāb to pass on the sovereignty of his state to an adopted son, and held that in such a case the sovereignty lapsed to the supreme Government.

The doctrine was already well established in principle, but Lord Dalhousie applied it with greater strictness than his predecessors. The question first arose with reference to Sātārā (*ante*, p. 298), the Marāthā principality created by Lord Hastings, which was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in the first year of his rule, on the principle stated above. That principle was subsequently applied in the cases of Jhānsī, Nāgpur, the relic of the Bhonslā dominions, and in several others of minor importance. It was also invoked to stop the large pension paid to the ex-Nawāb of the Carnatic. The refusal to continue to the Nānā Sahib of Bithūr, adopted son of Bājī Rāo II the ex-Peshwā who died in 1851, the pension of eight lakhs granted by Lord Hastings (*ante*, p. 298) was not a case of the application of the doctrine of lapse, for Sir John Malcolm had expressly declared the allowance to Bājī Rāo to be a 'life

[1] This view was opposed by Henry Lawrence and other experienced administrators, who held that the Government should reform but not abolish the states.

pension'; and as such it died with him. The Nānā Sahib, as adopted son, admittedly inherited twenty-eight lakhs of rupees, and, as an act of favour, was given a *jāgīr* besides. He had not any just grievance. In all cases where the doctrine of lapse of sovereignty was enforced, the adopted son inherited under Hindu law the private property of the deceased, and the Nānā Sahib received in full everything to which he was entitled. On 4 November 1859, at Cawnpore, Lord Canning announced the withdrawal of the doctrine of lapse, and assured the assembled princes that in future adopted sons would be recognized as heirs to the states.

Annexations otherwise than by lapse or conquest. A portion of Sikkim on the north-eastern frontier was annexed as punishment for the Rājā's ill-treatment of Dr (Sir John) Hooker and another officer. Sambhalpur, on the south-west of Bengal, was taken over in accordance with the wish of the deceased Rājā, who deliberately abstained from adopting an heir. Oudh was annexed during the closing days of Lord Dalhousie's rule, in consequence of the persistent misgovernment of the country. This drastic measure was taken by express order of the home authorities, and in opposition to the Governor-General's recommendation that the king, in special consideration of the faithfulness of his dynasty to the English alliance, might be maintained in his royal state and dignity, the administration being taken over by the Government in India. The rulers of Oudh, who were allowed to assume the title of king in 1819, had misgoverned the country for a century, and had uniformly refused to listen to the remonstrances pressed by Lord William Bentinck, Lord Hastings, and a long succession of Residents. Sir William Sleeman's *Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh, 1819-50*, gives an appalling picture of the state of the country, which formed an ample excuse for the decision to annex.

Modern system of government founded. Lord Dalhousie made a beginning in framing a system of government on

modern lines, and got rid of absurd traditions which had come down from the old mercantile days of the Company. The first sensible distribution of the work of administration among distinct departments dates from his time, and each department created received his special and ever-watchful attention. Nothing escaped him, and every official felt him to be master.

Railways. The Governor-General, when officially employed in England, had been in touch with the growth of the railway system, then a novelty ; and when he came to India, was resolved that India should have railways of her own. The prophets declared that they would not be used, would not pay, and so forth, but Dalhousie persevered and was able to open a short line in 1853.

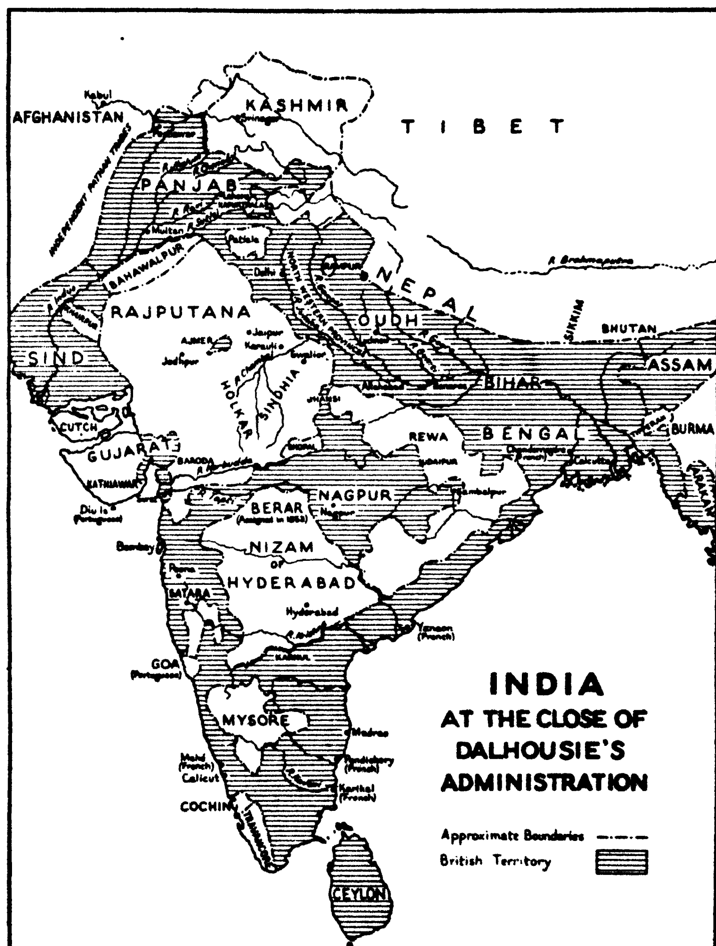
Postal and telegraph departments. When he assumed charge, India had no postal organization worthy of the name, the mails being conveyed by prehistoric methods under the control of local officers. Dalhousie founded the Postal Department, now so efficient, and also introduced the electric telegraph.

Public works. Roads, irrigation works, navigable canals, and, in short, material improvements of every kind, were designed and executed under his personal guidance and supervision. The Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Panjāb was constructed in his time. All this labour was performed in spite of painful bodily suffering and crushing domestic sorrow.

Education. The Governor-General was busy considering the subject of education when he received a dispatch from the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax), 'containing a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the local or the Supreme Government could have ventured to suggest'. That celebrated document provided for the establishment of Indian-language schools in all Districts, and colleges, aided schools, and

universities. Lord Dalhousie took action under it without delay, and organized the Department of Public Instruction.

Charter of 1853. The charter of the East India Company was renewed for the last time in 1853, not for any specific period, but during the pleasure of Parliament. The system



of government established in 1833 was continued, with the exceptions that certain changes were made in the constitution of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General was relieved of the charge of Bengal and Bihār, a Lieutenant-Governor being provided, and the patronage of the Civil Service was withdrawn from the Directors, the appointments being thrown open to public competition.

CHAPTER XXXII

Lord Canning: the Mutiny; the Queen's Proclamation

Lord Canning. Lord Canning, son of Mr George Canning, who was Prime Minister in 1827, relieved Lord Dalhousie on the last day of February 1856, and remained in office for a little more than six years, until March 1862. Like Lord Dalhousie, he wore himself out in the service of his country, and returned home only to die. When he assumed charge of the Government, England was involved in wars with Persia and China, and the home Government required India to contribute contingents of European troops, which the country could not spare. The troubles which ensued were largely the result of the reduction of the European garrison of India below the safety point.

Unrest. The history of Lord Canning's administration is the story of the Mutiny, its suppression, and the consequent reorganization. Unrest was in the air when he arrived. The annexation of Oudh, however justifiable on moral grounds, undoubtedly had unsettled men's minds and displeased the Bengal army, which was largely recruited from the ex-king's dominions. England, only just emerging from the long Crimean war with Russia, found herself engaged in lesser conflicts with Persia and China, and it seemed to the numerous classes in India who were dissatisfied for one reason or another

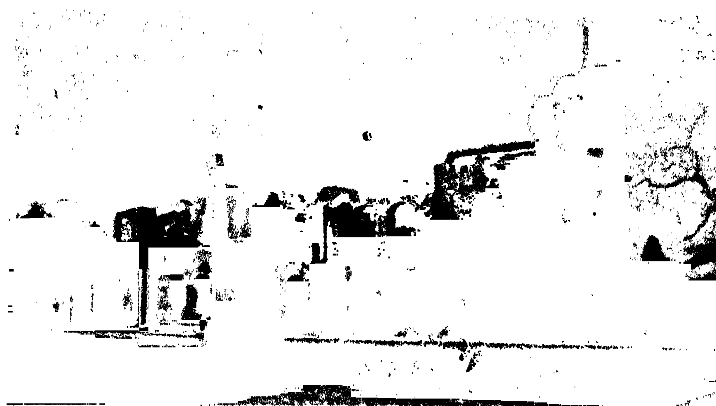
with the British rule, that the power of the Government was shaken and might be defied. They could not realize the existence of hidden reserves of strength.

The Mutiny. A panic in the sepoy army was caused in January 1857, by the discovery that the cartridges for the new Enfield rifle had been greased with animal fat, and that the purity of the sepoy's caste was consequently endangered. The authorities did their best to remedy the blunder ignorantly committed, but the alarm extended throughout the army, and was not to be allayed, the men believing that the Government intended to force them to become Christians. Trouble began with incendiary fires at Barrackpore, followed in February and March by mutinies there and at Berhampore, the cantonment of Murshīdābād. In distant Amballa, too, fires in the lines during March and April indicated the rebellious spirit of the troops. The decisive outbreak occurred at Meerut on 10 May, when the Indian regiments broke out, burnt the station, murdered the Europeans, and set off for Delhi. The commanding officer at Meerut, an imbecile old man, did nothing with the two thousand two hundred European troops at his disposal, but allowed the mutinous regiments to escape and occupy the ancient capital, where the Christian population was slaughtered, and the sepoys tendered their allegiance to the titular emperor, Bahādur Shah II, then more than eighty years of age. Within a month nearly every regiment between Allahabad and the Sutlaj had mutinied, and in most Districts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh civil government was at an end. Those days are remembered as 'the time of disorder' (*ghadr* or *balwā kā wakt*).

Cawnpore. At Cawnpore, on 27 June, General Wheeler, after a gallant defence of an untenable entrenchment for three weeks, was compelled to surrender on terms, which were immediately violated. All the prisoners, men, women, and children, were barbarously massacred by the followers of the Nānā Sahib of Bithūr, adopted son of the late Peshwā (*ante*,

p. 298), who caused himself to be proclaimed Peshwā on 1 July. 'The great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children', who were slaughtered at the Bībīghar, and cast into a well, are believed to have numbered about two hundred. The avenging troops, led by Havelock and Neill, who arrived on 17 July, were just too late to prevent this abominable crime, which was perpetrated on the 15th.

Lucknow. The small European garrison and population of



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW

Lucknow, including many women and children, held out in the Residency, at first under the command of Sir Henry Lawrence, until he was killed on 4 July, and afterwards of his successor, Brigadier-General Inglis. On 25 September, when the siege had lasted for eighty-seven days, Generals Outram and Havelock with a relieving force fought their way into the Residency through the streets of the city, and brought a welcome reinforcement to the hard-pressed defenders, who were finally delivered and withdrawn safely by Sir Colin Campbell in November, after standing a siege for five months with

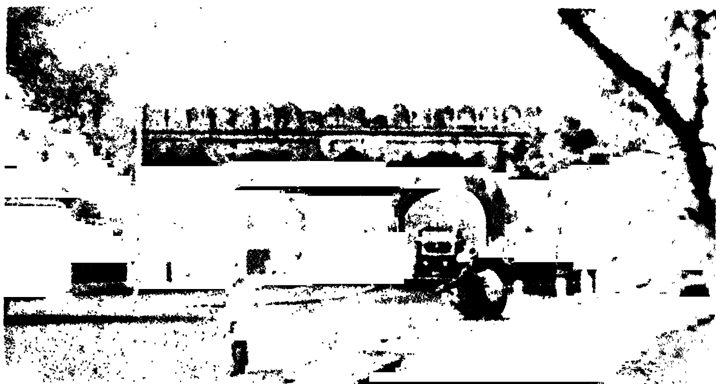
unsurpassed heroism. The defence had been materially aided by a small number of gallant, loyal sepoys, including Sikhs, who remained ' true to their salt '.

Battle of Cawnpore ; Rānī of Jhānsī and Tantia Topi. The troops who relieved the Residency at Lucknow were obliged to withdraw from the city in order to rescue Cawnpore from the hands of the Gwalior contingent, twenty-five thousand strong, which had occupied that place. Sir Colin gained a complete victory on 6 December over the Marāthā general, Tantia Topi, who then united the remnant of his forces with those of the Rānī of Jhānsī, the ablest of the rebel leaders. The campaign in Central India against the Rānī and Tantia Topi was conducted by Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn) in command of an army brought up from Bombay. The princess was killed in June 1858, fighting bravely at the head of her troops, like another Chānd Bībī, and in the following year Tantia, who was accused of complicity in the Cawnpore atrocities, was captured and executed. Lucknow, being held in force by the rebels, was not retaken until March 1858.

No unity of purpose among the rebels. The rebels failed because they did not agree in aiming at any one political object. The mutinous sepoys of the Bengal army tendered their allegiance to Bahādur Shah II, and attempted the restoration of the Mogul monarchy, chiefly because the outbreak of the mutiny happened to occur at Meerut close to Delhi, which offered them the only possible rallying point. Most of the mutineers were Hindus, who had little cause to love Mogul rule for its own sake. Nānā Sahib, far from supporting the cause of the titular emperor, proclaimed himself as Peshwā, and sought to revive the Marāthā supremacy, destroyed in 1818. The Gwalior contingent and Central Indian rebels generally had more sympathy with the Marāthā than with the Mogul. The Rānī of Jhānsī fought for her own hand, and in other places sundry local interests influenced the rebels. This lack

of unity greatly weakened the power of the rebellion, which was never controlled by any one mind, whereas the British operations were guided by the firm hand of the Commander-in-Chief, acting in concert with and under the general supervision of the Governor-General. Each section of the mutiny was separately crushed. When all was over, the old Bengal army had ceased to exist.

Delhi. Important as were the operations at Cawnpore, Lucknow, and other places, the critical point was Delhi.



THE KASHMIR GATE, DELHI

A tiny British force had established itself in June on the famous Ridge to the north of the city, but was barely able to hold its own ground against the insurgent hosts until reinforcements and a siege train from the Panjāb, collected by Sir John Lawrence at the risk of losing hold on his own province, arrived during August and September. At last, on 14 September 1857, the assault was delivered, the rebels were swept out, and Bahādur Shah II was a prisoner. The joy of victory was dimmed by the fall of the heroic John Nicholson. The recapture of Delhi was the turning-point of the war, and broke the rebel organization, such as it was. The subsequent

operations, some of which have been related, were conducted against detached forces unconnected by any bond of union. By the end of 1858 the authority of the Government had been generally restored, although in some localities the troubles continued into the following year.

The Queen's Proclamation, 1 November 1858. The news of the rebellion determined Parliament to abolish the powers of the Company and transfer the government of India directly to the Crown,[1] substituting a Secretary of State for India and a council of fifteen members for the President of the Board of Control and the secret committee. At Allahabad, on 1 November 1858, Lord Canning published the Queen's Proclamation, which appointed him to be the 'first Viceroy and Governor-General', and announced the principles on which Her Majesty proposed to govern the Indian empire. First, pardon was to be extended to all who had taken part in the Mutiny, except those who had been directly concerned in the murder of British subjects. Secondly, the Indian princes who had remained loyal during the Mutiny were promised that no encroachment should be made on their rights or territory, and all treaties and engagements made with them by the East India Company should be scrupulously observed. Thirdly, there was to be complete freedom of religion, and in framing and administering the law, due regard would be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India ; the people would be protected from any encroachment on the lands inherited from their ancestors. The right of Indians to hold any office under the Crown was once more affirmed. 'In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and their gratitude our best reward.' The proclamation was confirmed and extended by the Queen's successors on the occasion of their accession. A few days after the solemnity at Allahabad, the last of the Mogul

[1] The East India Company was formally dissolved as from 1 January 1874 by an Act of Parliament passed in 1873 (36 Vic. c. 17).

emperors passed through on his way to Burma, where he spent the rest of his days in confinement.

Causes of the Mutiny. In the beginning the rebellion was simply the result of the panic caused in the Bengal army by the greased cartridges incident; the Bombay and Madras armies were but slightly affected. The fighting took place almost wholly to the north of the Narbadā, and for the most part was confined to the plains of Hindustan. Oudh was the only province in which the insurrection became general, and nearly every great landholder rebelled. The displeasure at the recent annexation had something to do with this fact, but much of the trouble in Oudh must be attributed to the lawless condition of the kingdom after a century of gross misgovernment. The cause of the Mutiny, expressed in the most general terms and without regard to specific grievances, was the revolt of the old against the new, of Indian conservatism against European innovation. The spirit of revolt undoubtedly had been stimulated by the annexation of Oudh and the trend of Lord Dalhousie's policy, which alarmed men's minds. Every one of his actions was prompted by the highest motives, and each can be justified in detail, but the cumulative effect of them all was profound unrest. Railways, telegraphs, and other material and educational improvements, now matters of course, were in those days unorthodox, disturbing novelties, which contributed largely to unsettle the minds of the people and support the delusion that their religions were in danger. Mutiny in the army was nothing new; several instances have been mentioned in the preceding pages, and there were others besides. The military organization had become rusty and antiquated, and discipline was lax. The Bengal army, thus ill organized and mutinous, seeing England engaged in distant wars, and the European garrison diminished, believed itself to be master, and in its ignorance rushed blindly to destruction.

Leading Events and Dates of the Mutiny

I	Delhi area	1857,	10 May : Mutiny at Meerut ; rebel occupation of Delhi
			8 June : occupation of the Ridge by a small British force
			14 September : British recovery of Delhi
II	Lucknow		1 July : defence of Residency begun
			25 September : reinforcement of garrison by Havelock and Outram
			22 November : final relief by Sir Colin Campbell and Outram ; withdrawal of garrison
		1858,	21 March : British recovery of city of Lucknow
III	Cawnpore	1857,	6 June : defence of entrenchment begun
			27 June : defence of entrenchment ended
			27 June - 16 July : surrender and massacres
			17 July : entry of relieving force
			27 November : defeat of Windham by Gwalior contingent
			6 December : victory of Sir Colin Campbell (battle of Cawnpore)
IV	Central India and Bundelkhand	1858,	June : capture of Gwalior and death of Rānī of Jhānsī
		1859,	April : execution of Tantia Topi
V	Rohilkhand	1858,	June : recovery of Bareilly by the British

1858, 1 November : Queen's Proclamation announced

BOOK VI

THE BRITISH OR ANGLO-INDIAN PERIOD:
INDIA UNDER THE CROWN FROM 1858 TO 1947

CHAPTER XXXIII

1858-69: Reconstruction; Lord Canning; Lord Elgin I; Lord Lawrence

The Mutiny 'a fortunate occurrence'. Sir Lepel Griffin ventured to write in 1898 that 'perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the Mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India'. The saying, though a hard one, is, I think, true. If we can place ourselves at the point of view of a general who sends thousands of men to certain death for the sake of their country's cause, and close our eyes to the horrors of Cawnpore and a hundred other places, we can now see that the bloodshed of 1857-9 brought more good than evil. The conflict between the old ideas and the new had to be fought out, and if the struggle had not been begun in 1857 on the question of the greased cartridges, it must have come a little later over some other issue. The proposition that 'without shedding of blood is no remission' has a meaning beyond the theological sense.

'The Mutiny', to continue the quotation from Sir Lepel Griffin, 'swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered army, which, though in its hundred years of life had done splendid service, had become impossible; it replaced an unprogressive, selfish, and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened, and it attached the Sikh people closely to their rulers, and made them what they are today, the surest support of the Government. Lastly, it taught India and the world that the English possessed a courage and national spirit which made light of disaster, which never counted whether the odds against them

were two or ten to one; and which marched confident to victory, although the conditions of success appeared all but hopeless.'

Lord Canning's attitude. Lord Canning, although he could not possibly see the far-reaching effects of the Mutiny as clearly as we see them now, set himself bravely to the work of reconstruction. The dignified calmness of his attitude, undisturbed by much scurrilous abuse, was a wholesome restraint on panic fear and furious passion, which, if left free from control, would have prompted many evil deeds. The Governor-General, like other people, made some mistakes, but, on the whole, he deserves the highest credit for the manner in which he fulfilled the duties of his office, and sought to heal rather than to inflame the wounds inflicted by civil war.



LORD CANNING

Reform of the army. The reorganization of the army obviously was one of the most pressing duties of the Government. The European force had until then been divided into two bodies, the Queen's and the Company's, an arrangement which often caused much friction. The amalgamation or union of the two was rightly decided on and carried out, in the face of great difficulties. So many changes have occurred since that it is needless to dwell on details. The Indian army was reformed at the same time. It, too, has been vastly changed since the days of Lord Canning, and has proved itself worthy to fight side by side with its British comrades on the huge battlefields of Europe and Africa.

Finance. Finance, which lies at the root of all government, claimed equal attention. The immense cost of the military operations had necessarily resulted in a large deficit, the expense much exceeding the income. The old, crude methods of the Company no longer sufficed. Skilled financial experts, at first Mr James Wilson and then Mr Samuel Laing, were brought out from England to set things straight. They introduced the Income Tax and other new imposts, enforced strict economy, and soon converted the deficit into a surplus. The methods of doing financial business were much improved.

Education ; universities. The Education Dispatch sent out by Sir Charles Wood in 1854 (*ante*, p. 322) had borne immediate fruit under Lord Dalhousie's care, in a large extension of village schools. The three universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were founded by Lord Canning in 1857, the very year of the Mutiny. In those days people thought too much of examinations. The first Indian universities accordingly were purely examining bodies, on the model of the University of London as it then existed. Since that time a change of opinion has taken place, and it is recognized that universities should teach as well as examine.

The impulse given by the universities to the study of English and all the subjects taught through the medium of that language has produced an effect on India too profound to be measured.

Codes of law. The useful work of codification began after the Mutiny, during Lord Canning's term of office. The Penal Code, on which Macaulay and other experts had been long at work, saw the light in 1860, and was followed in the next year by the Code of Criminal Procedure. The Penal Code has stood the test of experience wonderfully well, and has needed but slight amendment. The procedure codes naturally require to be re-edited from time to time. In the course of years most branches of Anglo-Indian law have been reduced to

the form of codes. The only considerable branch remaining uncodified is that of torts, or civil wrongs.

Other reforms in 1861. The year 1861 was marked by other important reforms. Chartered High Courts—that is to say, courts constituted under the authority of royal charters—replaced both the old Supreme Court and the Company's courts, known by the Persian names of Sadar Dīwānī or Civil, and Nizāmat or Criminal Adāwlats. The change got rid of many abuses and legal obscurities.

The Indian Civil Service Act listed the appointments reserved for the Civil Service of India, while throwing open all others, with certain reservations.

Changes were also made in the constitution of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Governor-General, which were carried much further in later years.

The Rent Act. The Rent Act, X of 1859, which applied to Bengal, Bihār, the North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces), and the Central Provinces, did much to secure the rights of cultivating tenants, which the Regulations of the Permanent Settlement (*ante*, p. 275) had failed to protect. The arbitrary rule that continuous cultivating possession of a field for twelve years should confer tenant-right, or, as the Act called it, ' a right of occupancy ', was now laid down for the first time. Experience has revealed many defects in Act X of 1859, which has been superseded by later legislation in the several provinces. The problem involved in trying to give definite legal force to the old vague tenant-right usages is immensely difficult, and the success attained is imperfect.

Death of Lord Canning and Lord Elgin I. The work mentioned, and much besides, wore out and killed Lord Canning, who retired in March 1862. He survived his retirement for only three months. He was succeeded by the Earl of Elgin, who died at Dharmsālā in November 1863. During the interval pending the arrival of a permanent Viceroy two acting officers carried on the government.

Lord Lawrence appointed Viceroy. At the beginning of 1864, Sir John Lawrence, who, as Chief Commissioner of the Panjāb, had done so much to suppress the Mutiny and recover Delhi, was appointed Viceroy and Governor-General with general approval. The rule that a member of the Civil Service of India should not be promoted to the highest office under the Crown, although recognized to be valid in all ordinary cases, was held not to apply to his special claims. He was subsequently raised to the peerage, and so may be called Lord Lawrence. His term of office may be considered to close the period of reconstruction after the Mutiny. He laid himself out to carry on a purely peaceful, administrative programme, and to keep out of all political and warlike troubles, so far as possible.



LORD LAWRENCE

'Masterly inactivity'. This disposition led Lord Lawrence to preserve an absolute neutrality in Afghan affairs. When the old Amīr, Dost Mohammed, died in 1863, various candidates fought for the throne. Lord Lawrence intimated that he would recognize the prince who came out top, whoever he might be. Accordingly, when Sher Alī won the vacant throne, he was duly recognized. This policy, called 'masterly inactivity' by the admirers of the Lawrence system, did not always prove itself as masterly. It was reversed by Lord Lytton, and there is much to be said for his view. At any rate, the inactive policy had the merit of being cheap.

Internal affairs. In internal affairs we may mention the terrible Orissa famine of 1866, which was badly mismanaged,

and caused vast loss of life. The want of roads and railways made relief very difficult. Many people were ruined about the same time by the failure of wild speculations in Bombay, where the American Civil War had given occasion for rash dealings in cotton. Lord Lawrence throughout his life took a warm interest in the welfare of the cultivating peasantry, as distinguished from the landlords. He passed a valuable measure for protecting the tenantry in Oudh, and drafted a similar measure for the Panjāb, which was passed after he had left India.

The rule of Lord Lawrence. Lord Lawrence was not quite as successful a Governor-General as he had been a Chief Commissioner of the Panjāb. He carried too far his dislike of pomp and ceremony, and never fully attained the position of mastery over his colleagues which the head of the Government should possess. He was the only member of the Civil Service of India ever to be appointed Viceroy. The Ministry at home should not have waited to give him his peerage until after his retirement, as it did.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1869-84 : Lord Mayo ; Lord Northbrook ; Lord Lytton and the second Afghan war ; Lord Ripon and non-intervention ; local self-government

Lord Mayo. The Earl of Mayo, chosen by the Conservative Government as the successor of Lord Lawrence, was a man of a totally different type, gifted with singular charm of manner and lively sympathies—qualities which endeared him to the chiefs of the protected states in a degree never attained by any other Governor-General.

Relations with the native or protected states. The taking over of the direct government of India by the Queen had completely changed the position of the native or protected states,

which now had become parts of the British Empire, although not included in British India. All the chiefs, small and great, from 1858 owed personal allegiance to the Queen of England as their sovereign. No question of annexations, such as had occurred in Lord Dalhousie's time, could possibly again arise. The sovereign could not annex territory forming part of her dominions. But the paramount power necessarily retained the right to change the ruler of a state in case of grave misgovernment. Lord Mayo fully understood the new conditions and acted on them in the cases of Alwar in Rājputāna and certain small states in Kāthiāwār. His personal qualities assured his success in all such measures. He arranged for the foundation at Ajmēr of a Chiefs' College, which was actually established after his death. Similar institutions were established at Lahore and at Rājkōt in Kāthiāwār.

Friendship with the Amīr of Afghanistan. The Viceroy was successful in establishing friendly relations with Sher Alī, the Amīr of Afghanistan, who had been disgusted by the cold and avowedly selfish policy of Lord Lawrence. In those days the rapid progress of Russian arms in Central Asia made it necessary to watch that Afghanistan should not become a dependency of Russia. Lord Mayo was permitted to promise the Amīr a general support as against Russia, on condition that the Government of India should decide the manner of help to be given.

Visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh. The visit to India in 1869 of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, second son of Queen Victoria, was an instance of those close relations between sovereign and Indian empire which were made so much more intimate in later years.

Internal affairs. Lord Mayo was as active and energetic in dealing with internal affairs as he was in other fields. Before his time the Supreme Government used to keep all money matters in its own hands, and every item of expenditure, however trifling, had to be sanctioned by it. The result was

that the time of the highest authorities was wasted, and that the Provincial Government which gave the most worry got most money. Lord Mayo abolished that absurd system, and made the Government of each province responsible for its own finance within certain limits. His measure is known by the name of decentralization, meaning that much business was transferred from the centre of the government to the branches. The reform has been carried further since Lord Mayo's time. Much attention was given to public works, especially railways and canals. A regular census of Bengal, taken for the first time, revealed the astounding fact that the population of the province as then constituted exceeded the official estimate by twenty-six millions.

Murder of Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo's warm interest in prison administration brought about the sudden end of his useful life. He had gone to the Andaman Islands to visit the penal settlement there, and on 24 January 1872, was getting into his boat after making an inspection tour, when a convict, a desperate frontier Pathān, sprang on his back and stabbed him to death. All India loathed the crime and mourned the victim.

Lord Northbrook. After a short interval, Lord Northbrook, a member of the wealthy banking house of Baring, was appointed as Lord Mayo's successor. The new Viceroy proved himself to be, as might be expected, a good man of business. He was destitute of the personal charm which won affection as well as respect for his predecessor, and he lost the friendship of Sher Alī, Amīr of Afghanistan, who turned away from the British, and showed an inclination to join Russia.

Visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The visit, in 1875-6, of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, deepened the impression made some years earlier by his brother's visit, and evoked ardent expressions of loyalty to the throne from princes and people.

Deposition of the Gaikwār of Baroda. A disagreeable incident was the trial of H.H. the Gaikwār of Baroda by a special Commission on the charge of having attempted to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, by administering diamond dust. The Commissioners differed in opinion, and the Government of India, while refraining from pronouncing a verdict of guilty, held the Gaikwār to be unfit for his position and removed him. A young man, a distant relative, was appointed in his place. He was Sir Sāyājīrāo III, who died, after a reign of sixty-four years, in 1939. Under his wise guidance, Baroda became one of the most advanced and prosperous of the Indian states.

Famine in Bihār. In 1873-4 a serious, although not very severe, famine was experienced in Bihār. The Government was so afraid of repeating the mistakes made in Orissa in 1866, when too little was done, that it threw away money with both hands. Seven millions sterling or more were spent, with much waste, but the mortality from starvation was prevented, and there were practically no deaths.

Lord Lytton. Lord Northbrook retired before his term of office was ended. The appointment of Lord Lytton as his successor was a surprise. He was a professional diplomatist, being at the time British Minister in Portugal. Lord Beaconsfield, then Prime Minister, selected him because he believed that India at the moment needed 'a statesman', capable of dealing properly with the dangers threatening from the side of Russia and Afghanistan.

Things have changed so much that it is difficult for the generation now living to realize the anxiety concerning the advance of Russia, and her designs for the conquest of India, which prevailed in the nineteenth century. Nobody then could have imagined that in two world wars Russia and England would be the best of friends, closely allied, and fighting together against the hosts of Germany. But in Lord Lytton's time there were very influential people in Russia who desired

to effect the conquest of India, and thought they could do it. All English and Anglo-Indian parties were then agreed that Russia must be prevented from gaining control over Afghanistan, although opinions differed widely concerning the proper means to attain that desired end.

Lord Lytton's policy. Lord Lytton, instructed by Lords Salisbury and Beaconsfield, came to India with perfectly distinct and logical views on the subject. He held that Amīr Sher Alī, if he would not be a friend of the British, should be treated as an enemy, and that the danger threatening from Kābul should be averted by separating Herat and Kandahār so as to form a distinct state. The Viceroy also was convinced that Balōchistan must be occupied, and the Bolān and Khojak Passes secured by establishing a garrison at Quetta.

Second Afghan war ; Treaty of Gundamuk. Action was taken accordingly. When Sher Alī received Russian envoys while refusing to receive an English mission, war ensued. Sher Alī was driven from his throne. Yākūb Khān, one of his sons, was recognized by the Treaty of Gundamuk (Gandamak) 1879, as Amīr, and was compelled to accept the English mission.

Murder of envoy ; renewal of war ; resignation of Lord Lytton. Sir Louis Cavagnari, who was sent to Kābul as envoy, was murdered with his escort after a few weeks. That crime, of course, brought on a renewal of the war. General (Lord) Roberts distinguished himself greatly in a series of brilliant military operations, deposed Yākūb Khān, and inflicted severe punishment on Kābul. Lord Lytton, feeling that the frontier had been secured by the occupation of Balōchistan and Quetta, did not care what happened at Kābul, and was content to let the Afghans choose an Amīr at their leisure. He arranged for the government of the Kandahār province, and was working out detailed plans, when, in April 1880, news arrived that Mr Gladstone had come into power as Prime Minister, and that the Afghan policy of the Conservative

Government was disapproved. Lord Lytton, consequently was obliged to resign. He was relieved by Lord Ripon on 8 June 1880.

Title of Empress of India. Before finishing the story of the Afghan business, we must note certain other events of Lord Lytton's term of office.

In 1876, Lord Beaconsfield had induced Parliament, rather unwillingly, to pass the Imperial Titles Act authorizing Queen Victoria to assume the title of Empress of India (*Kaisar-i-Hind*). The new style of Her Majesty was proclaimed with great pomp at an Imperial Assembly held at Delhi on 1 January 1877, the first of a series of similar displays. The assumption of the title carried further the policy announced in 1858, all the princes being required to do homage to Her Majesty's representative, acting on her behalf.

Famine of 1877 and 1878. A terrible famine ravaged the Deccan and the greater part of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies during 1877 and 1878. In spite of the most zealous exertion and immense expenditure, some five million people perished. Lord Lytton showed that he understood the true principles of famine relief, namely (1) perfect freedom of inland trade in grain ; (2) the systematic planning and execution of large relief works of lasting usefulness ; (3) the preparation of well-considered measures, especially railways and canals, for the prevention of famine.

Abolition of customs hedge. The abolition of the barbarous customs line or hedge, which ran across India for fifteen hundred miles, from near Attock to Berār, was a great boon. That hedge, supplemented by others like it in the Bombay Presidency, had been constructed to make easier the collection of the duty on salt. It is surprising that such a monstrous thing should have lasted so long.

Repeal of Vernacular Press Act. Lord Ripon repealed, in 1882, a measure passed by Lord Lytton for the control of the Indian-language press.• The unrest which followed

Lord Curzon's term of office rendered necessary fresh legislation on the subject in 1910, but it was repealed in 1922.

Rendition of Mysore. The restoration of Mysore to the Hindu dynasty in 1881 has been mentioned already (*ante*, p. 283). The experiment was completely successful, and Mysore is one of the most prosperous and enlightened states in the whole of India.

The Ilbert Bill. A great turmoil was raised by a measure known as the Ilbert Bill, from the name of the official who introduced it. The purpose was to make European British subjects triable by magistrates of Indian nationality. After much angry controversy the Bill was dropped and the right to claim trial by jury was reserved to European offenders.

Local self-government. Lord Ripon, who was extremely anxious to associate non-official Indians more closely with the administration, passed measures for local self-government which provided for the establishment of district boards, more or less modelled on English county councils. The Viceroy regarded them as instruments for political and popular education rather than as the means for increased efficiency.



LORD RIPON

Final stages of the Afghan war. When Lord Ripon took over charge, on 8 June, he hastened to recognize Sher Alī's nephew, Abdurrahmān, as Amīr, and to make arrangements for restoring Kandahār to him and getting clear of Afghan affairs. But in July 1880 Ayūb Khān, a rival of Abdurrahmān, inflicted a serious defeat at Maiwand, near Kandahār, on a British force, commanded by General Burrows, to whose ill

management the reverse was due. The defeated army took refuge in Kandahār, which was relieved by General (Lord) Roberts, who made his celebrated forced march from Kābul with 2,800 European and 7,000 Indian soldiers, besides about 8,000 camp-followers, covering the distance, 318 miles, in 23 days. Ayūb Khān was then defeated and Kandahār was made over to the Amīr Abdurrahmān.

Results of Lord Lytton's policy. It must not be supposed that Lord Lytton's policy, although so far reversed, was barren of results. Balōchistan had been brought under British control, and the strong strategical position of Quetta had been permanently garrisoned. Those measures threw open the Bolān and Khojak Passes and exposed the flank of Afghanistan, so that the country could be entered at any moment without troubling about the dangerous Khyber Pass. A few years later the Kurram Pass was occupied, and in due course a railway through the Bolān Pass was made and extended to Chaman beyond Quetta. Thus the Government of India had a hold on Afghanistan such as it never possessed before Lord Lytton's time. The proper way to deal with Afghanistan is still the subject of much difference of opinion. One thing is certain, even at this day, that, as Lady Betty Balfour, Lord Lytton's daughter, wrote in 1899, 'the problem of our permanent relations with Afghanistan is still awaiting a durable and satisfactory solution.' From 1905, Habībullah, son and successor of Abdurrahmān, was allowed royal rank in diplomatic correspondence.

Popularity of Lord Ripon. The sympathetic spirit of Lord Ripon's government approved itself to educated Indians, with whom he was popular to a degree never attained by any of his predecessors. In India he aroused burning enthusiasm. When he retired, in December 1884, 'his journey from Simla to Bombay was a triumphal march such as India has never witnessed—a long procession in which seventy million people sang hosannas to their friend.'

The Afghan Wars

First

1838 Tripartite treaty between the Government in India, Shah Shujā and Ranjit Singh

Lord Auckland declares war with Dost Mohammed

1839 Advance of British armies ; death of Ranjit Singh

1840 Surrender of Dost Mohammed

1841 Rising at Kābul (November)

1842 General Elphinstone capitulates (1 January) ; British army destroyed (6-13 January)

Defeats of Afghans (March-October) ; bazaar at Kābul blown up ; British withdrawn from Afghanistan

Second

1878 Beginning of war (21 November)

Flight of Amīr Sher Alī (13 December)

1879 Treaty of Gundamuk (26 May)

Murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort (3 September)

Retribution ; abdication of Amīr Yākūb Khān (October)

1880 British defeat at Maiwand (27 July)

Ayūb Khān defeated by Roberts at Kandahār (1 September)

1881 Kandahār taken over by Amīr Abdurrahmān

(The operations after the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari are sometimes called the third Afghan war)

CHAPTER XXXV

1884-98: Lord Dufferin and the third Burmese war; Lord Lansdowne; Lord Elgin II

Lord Dufferin. Lord Dufferin, who became Governor-General and Viceroy in 1884, brought to India ripe experience gathered by him in diplomacy during a long career in Russia, Turkey, Egypt, and Syria, and in government as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. He was gifted with singular tact, and knew how to get his own way without offending anybody.

The Panjdeh affair. He made friends with Abdurrahmān, Amīr of Afghanistan, whose chief anxiety was to keep British officers and troops out of his country. In 1885 an affray between Russian and Afghan outposts concerning a boundary dispute at a place called Panjdeh, situated between Herat and Merv, nearly brought on war with Russia. But the Amīr remained calm, and the business was amicably settled.

Third Burmese war; annexation of Upper Burma. The most notable event of Lord Dufferin's term of office was the annexation of Upper Burma, following on the third Burmese war. The main cause of the war was the attempt of King Theebaw to put himself under French protection by means of a treaty giving France special consular and commercial privileges. The Viceroy was determined to keep France out of Burma, and was quite prepared to annex the country in order to effect that purpose. The king gave further provocation by imposing an enormous fine on a trading company and imprisoning its officials. The resulting war involved no serious fighting and was over in a fortnight, 14-27 November 1885. King Theebaw surrendered and was deported to Ratnagiri on the Bombay coast, where he lived for many years.

Subsequent disturbances. The real war began after the official war was ended, and lasted for five years. Sundry

pretenders to the throne appeared, while the disbanded soldiers and every disorderly person in the country formed themselves into robber gangs, which kept the land in turmoil and committed shocking atrocities. At one time thirty thousand regular troops had to be employed. Gradually roads were made, the gangs were hunted down, and peaceful administration was introduced bit by bit. In 1897, Upper and Lower



KING THEEBAW'S PALACE, MANDALAY

Burma were united under a Lieutenant-Governor (afterwards Governor) with his capital at Rangoon.

Close of era of conquests. The annexation of Upper Burma completed the list of conquests on a large scale open to the ambition of a Governor-General of India. The settlement made by Lord Hastings in 1818 had brought the whole of India proper within the control of the British Government, with the exception of the two outlying provinces, Sind and the Panjāb,

which were annexed respectively in 1843 and 1849. Burma, which has no close geographical or historical connexion with India, was separated from India in 1935.

The final operation completely closed in the Indian frontier in the narrower sense, and at the same time brought the enlarged Indian empire into touch with China, Siam, and the French dominions in the Far East. The Government of India thenceforward, whether it liked it or not, had to be prepared to deal with external foreign politics.

Internal affairs. Gwalior, the famous fortress in Central India, which had served as the state prison in Mogul times, and had been taken so cleverly by Popham in 1780, had lost all strategical value owing to the changes in the art of war. In 1886 Lord Dufferin did a graceful act by restoring the fortress to the Mahārājā Sindia, receiving suitable compensation.

In 1887 Queen Victoria's Jubilee, marking the completion of fifty years of her reign, was celebrated all over India with appropriate festivities and genuine enthusiasm.

Important Rent Acts concerning Bengal, Oudh, and the Panjāb were passed.

Lord Lansdowne. Lord Dufferin retired for personal reasons before the full customary five years of office had elapsed, and was succeeded in 1888 by another distinguished Irish nobleman, Lord Lansdowne, who devoted special attention to questions concerning frontier defence and the reorganization of the army. The Imperial Service troops, which did splendid service in the two world wars, dated from his time.

Rising in Manipur. In 1891, during the course of a rising in Manipur, a small hill state on the north-eastern frontier, Mr Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and several other officers were treacherously murdered. The guilty parties were suitably punished and the state was placed under British management for some years.

Currency. In India, for several centuries, the standard of value had been silver—that is to say, the debts, whether of the state or private persons, were payable in silver rupees, not in gold or anything else. From 1874, owing to various causes, the value of silver fell rapidly, and the rupee, which once had been worth the eighth part (2s. 6d.) of an English gold sovereign, and for many years had been worth the tenth part (2s.), decreased until it was worth only about the nineteenth part (1s. 0½d.) of a sovereign. This fall made it very difficult for India to pay her debts to England and other countries with gold currencies. Arrangements begun by Lord Lansdowne in 1893, and completed in Lord Curzon's time (1899), made gold a legal tender in India—that is to say, any Indian or the Indian Government might pay a debt in either gold or silver. The rate of exchange was fixed as fifteen silver rupees to the gold sovereign, or, in other words, 1s. 4d. to the rupee. Little fluctuation in the rate thus fixed occurred until the First World War disturbed all exchanges. In 1919 the rupee rose to 2s. but has since been stabilized at 1s. 6d.

Lord Elgin II ; frontiers settled. In 1894, Lord Lansdowne made over charge to Lord Elgin, son of the nobleman who had been Governor-General for a short time in 1862 and 1863. Lord Elgin's Government continued the work of settling disputed frontiers which had been begun by his predecessor. The lines separating the Indian empire from Burma, Siam, and China were marked out, and a Commission defined the Afghan frontier. Disputes with Russia were prevented by a treaty which settled the limits of Russian and British influence in the remote region of the Pāmīrs beyond Kashmīr. Two frontier campaigns were fought during Lord Elgin's term of office, namely, a small though difficult one in Chitrāl, and a series of more extensive operations in the Tirāh country to the south of the Khyber Pass. The valleys of Tirāh were then explored for the first time, but the tribesmen are still far from being subdued.

Plague. The oriental, or bubonic, plague which devastated London in 1665 is no stranger to India, epidemics of the disease being recorded at intervals since the seventeenth, or perhaps the fifteenth century. The epidemic which began at Bombay in 1896, in the time of Lord Elgin II, is generally believed to have been introduced from China. It is now known that plague is transmitted by fleas, which are harboured by rats. The extermination of rats and the extensive use of inoculation has now rendered bubonic plague almost a thing of the past, and there has been no serious recurrence of the disease for many years.

The Burmese Wars

First, 1824-6. Lord Amherst Governor-General ; Treaty of Yandabo ; annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim, 1826

Second, 1852. Lord Dalhousie Governor-General ; annexation of Pegu : no treaty

Third, 1885. Lord Dufferin Governor-General ; annexation of Upper Burma (1 January 1886)
Fighting with gangs lasted for five years longer

CHAPTER XXXVI

1899-1919 : Lord Curzon and his successors

Lord Curzon. At the beginning of 1899 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, who was then in his fortieth year, and had achieved high distinction in Parliament and as a traveller in Asia. He proved himself to be one of the ablest in the long series of Governors-General. Consciously or unconsciously, he seems to have taken as his model Lord Dalhousie. Lord Curzon, like his prototype, was masterful, full of consuming energy, and devoted to the attainment of efficiency in all departments. Like Lord Dalhousie, he did

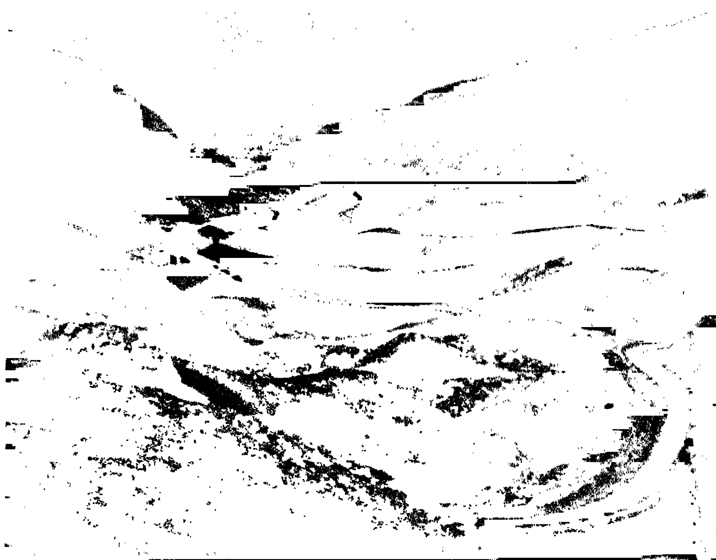
too much, and forced the pace of reform too fast. Whatever differences of opinion may exist concerning the merits of Lord Curzon's policy in several matters of high importance, everybody must acknowledge that he approached each problem with an acute intellect, instructed understanding, unwearied industry, and lofty motives. He effected many improvements in administration to which no objection can be taken.



LORD CURZON

Frontier policy. Lord Curzon's frontier policy was directed to the object of putting a stop to the costly and unfruitful punitive expeditions which had been going on for so many years. One method adopted to attain that purpose was the withdrawal of British garrisons from the frontier, combined with arrangements for guarding the passes by levies of local tribesmen. He managed to avoid expeditions during his term of office, with one partial exception, the chastisement of the Wazīris. The operations against that tribe were called a 'blockade'. Another measure directed to the same end was the formation of the North-West Frontier Province, an irregular straggling strip of territory chiefly to the west of the Indus, made up by combining certain districts taken from the Panjāb with sundry tribal territories. The new province was placed directly under the Government of India, which thus held all the threads of frontier policy in its own hand. Lord Curzon's management of the frontier saved much money and may be fairly described as successful.

Tibet and Persia. The invasion of Tibet in 1904 was brought about by Tibetan intrigues with Russia, obstruction to trade with India, and neglect to answer letters from the Indian Government. The expedition penetrated to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, which had long been closed to European visitors, and much interesting information was collected. The value of the political results attained seems to be rather doubtful, and



THE KHYBER PASS

everybody is not agreed concerning the supposed necessity for military operations. Lord Curzon took effective steps to preserve British influence in Persia and the Persian Gulf.

Death of Queen Victoria. On 22 January 1901, Queen Victoria, Empress of India, passed away, and was mourned by the whole world. She had lived for nearly eighty-two and reigned for nearly sixty-four years. During that long time she had enjoyed the love as well as the respect of her subjects,

being justly regarded as the 'mother of her people'. She always cherished a special affection for her Indian empire, and liked to have representatives of various Indian races in attendance on her person. Her eldest son, who had visited India as Prince of Wales in 1875 (*ante*, p. 339), succeeded to the throne as King Edward VII. A magnificent Coronation Darbār was held at Delhi in 1903.

The famine of 1900. A grievous and widespread famine in 1900 gave ample scope for the exercise of Lord Curzon's skill in organization and his patient attention to minute details. The calamity was met by efforts on the part of all concerned which could not be surpassed, and led to the preparation of elaborate revised rules regulating measures for the relief of famine or scarcity.

Earlier famines. Foolish people, ignorant of history, are found from time to time who assert that famines are mainly the result of British misgovernment, and that they were hardly known in the days of independence. Such assertions are ludicrously false. The history of India is full of famines. Several of terrible severity have been mentioned in the pages even of this little book, from which many others have been omitted.[1]

The difference between the old times and the present is that the ancient rulers, so far as appears, never in any instance took really effective steps to relieve famine on a large scale, and very often did nothing at all; whereas the authorities of British India, after 1873 at any rate, fully recognized the duty of preserving life so far as possible and of giving substantial relief, even at the cost of crores of rupees. The Government of India was somewhat slow in recognizing its duty in the matter; but since the comparatively slight local Bihār famine of 1873-4, no person possessing the least

[1] Balfour's *Cyclopaedia* gives a list of about twenty notable Indian famines prior to 1750. A famine of early date is mentioned in *Jātaka* No. 199.

knowledge of the facts can honestly accuse the Indian authorities of indifference to the miseries caused by failure of the rains and consequent famine. What is possible is done. No human agency or lavish expenditure can prevent enormous suffering and numerous deaths when the failure of rain is widespread and famine severe. The opening up of means of communication by roads, railways, and other modern inventions has done much to prevent local famines, and to make relief easier in all cases. The provision in immense areas of facilities for irrigation has protected a large percentage of the best land in the country from all danger of acute famine. We must not, however, expect that the occurrence of famine in India will be or can be prevented altogether.

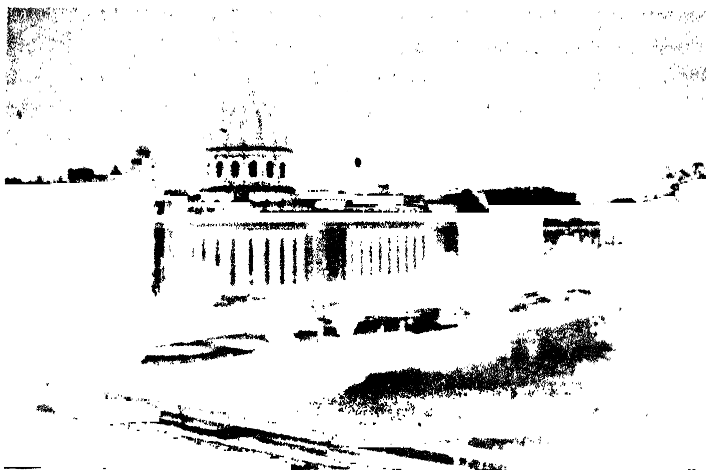
Finance. No ruler who understands his business can be indifferent to finance. Money, denounced by the moralist as the root of all evil, is certainly the root of all government. Long ago, Kautilya laid down the sound doctrine that 'all undertakings depend upon finance, hence foremost attention shall be paid to the Treasury'. Lord Curzon fully understood that principle. Among other reforms, his Government completed the legislation making gold a legal tender for the payment of debts (*ante*, p. 349), raised the limit of exemption from income-tax, and nearly halved the salt tax. From the earliest times the Indian Governments have relied for part of their revenue upon a tax on salt, and have retained a right to regulate the production of that necessary article. The tax, when low in rate, cannot be felt severely even by the extremely poor, who form the large majority of the population of India; and it has the merit of taking some contribution for public purposes from everybody. The rate used to be too high.

Since 1894, India has levied a customs duty on most articles arriving at the ports by sea. The propriety of the way in which duty is levied on cotton goods has been the subject of much controversy, which continued in Lord Curzon's time.

Education. Warren Hastings, a man of large ideas, who saw far into the future, was keenly alive to the necessity for education, and did what he could to promote it. The Marquess of Hastings was able to do something more. His remark that it would be treason to perpetuate ignorance has been quoted (*ante*, p. 300). But no general well-conceived plan for a system of education in all grades throughout the empire existed until the time of Lord Dalhousie. The dispatch sent by the Secretary of State in 1854 laid down the principles to be followed and was the foundation of the Education Department (*ante*, p. 323). Lord Dalhousie gladly gave the fullest possible effect to the instructions then sent out from England.

We have seen how the earliest Indian universities were established in the year of the Mutiny, and that other institutions of the kind have been created, while still more are to come. Lord Curzon devoted the most laborious study, even to the extent of injuring his health, to all aspects of the education problem, and rightly came to the conclusion that in the constitution and management of the universities grave abuses existed. He attempted to correct those abuses and start a better system by means of the Universities Act, 1904. The representatives of the educated classes took up the erroneous notion that the Viceroy was opposed to higher education, whereas his real objects were to convert such education 'into a reality instead of a sham', and to give it 'new life'. A great clamour arose and pursued Lord Curzon for the rest of his stay in India. The turmoil was due largely to the fears of vested interests, and in a measure to mistakes made by the Viceroy. But the opposition also rested on certain grounds of principle. The Act inflicted genuine hardships upon students of the poorer classes, and had been framed without any attempt to consult Indian opinion. Vice-chancellors of Indian universities were to be appointed by Government, and Government was to sanction the affiliation of colleges

The partition of Bengal. Another act of Lord Curzon's which aroused intense bitterness of feeling, especially in the province immediately concerned, was the so-called partition of Bengal. There can be no question that the huge area under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1904 could not be administered properly and that it was absolutely necessary to break up the unwieldy province. Lord Curzon hit on a scheme which unluckily gave deep offence, and



MODERN CALCUTTA: THE GENERAL POST OFFICE

awakened in Bengal a violent expression of nationalist feeling which had not been expected by the Government of India. The action of the authorities with regard to the universities and the rearrangement of the Bengal province resulted in a series of murders and other grave crimes.

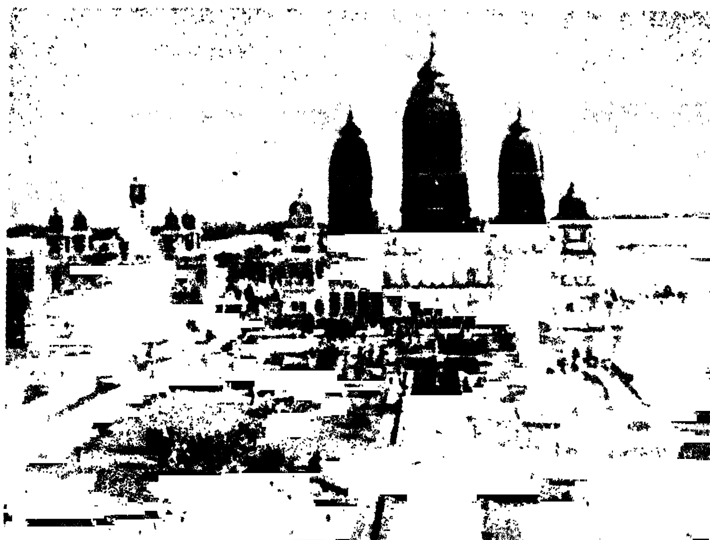
The antiquities of India. It is pleasant to turn from these highly contentious subjects to measures of Lord Curzon's which have won, and deservedly won, universal approval. India is full of memorials of olden times. Lord Curzon not

only passed an Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, but worked out a well-conceived scheme for both the conservation of buildings which had escaped destruction and the exploration of the treasures of antiquity buried in sites where everything above ground had perished. Both duties—conservation and exploration—were entrusted to a skilled Director-General of Archaeology, aided by a staff of expert assistants in the provinces, and supplied liberally with funds. The Department, thus organized in a manner far superior to the crude arrangements previously in operation, has done admirable work, and its reports become more and more interesting every year. The field for research is practically unlimited, and it is impossible to imagine a time when the Director-General should have nothing left to do. The scientific study of the antiquities of India was for many years confined almost exclusively to European scholars, but since about the beginning of the current century numerous Indian-born students have recognized that the investigation of the history of their native land should not be abandoned to foreigners, and have been doing their duty in making additions to the world's store of historical knowledge.

Resignation of Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon, having been reappointed Viceroy and Governor-General after a brief visit to Europe in the summer of 1904, during which his place was occupied by Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, resigned office late in 1905. His retirement was due to a controversy concerning the position and duties of the Commander-in-Chief in India. The home Government having accepted the opinion of Lord Kitchener and rejected that of the Viceroy, the latter was bound to resign. The Commander-in-Chief in India was given the combined duties of executive command of the army in all its departments with those of military Member of Council or War Minister. Lord Curzon held that arrangement to be opposed to the recognized principle that in all well-conducted states the military should be

subordinate to the civil authority. Subsequent events showed that Curzon was right.

Lord Minto II. The nobleman chosen to succeed Lord Curzon in 1905 was the Earl of Minto, great-grandson of the half-forgotten Governor-General who had done such excellent service during the Napoleonic wars a century earlier (*ante*, p. 292). His period of rule was marked chiefly by two



THE LAKSHMI NARAIN TEMPLE, DELHI

things—grave unrest resulting in many atrocious crimes; and secondly, important reforms in the machinery of the government of India.

Lord Minto met the dangers and difficulties of his situation with quiet courage, and did not allow himself to be turned from his course even by a wicked attempt made upon his life. The crimes of the secret conspirators, who foolishly thought to overthrow the Government by means of the murder of individual officials, were at their height in 1908 and 1909.

The new laws needed to check new forms of crime were duly passed. They included provisions for the regulation of seditious publications.

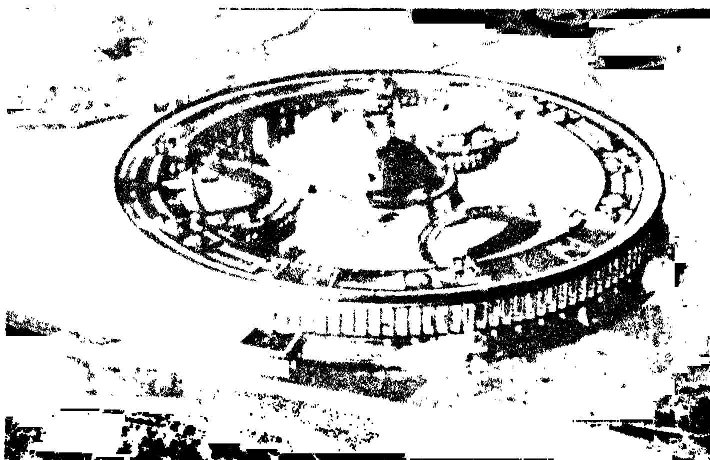
Lord Minto rightly decided that the crimes of small groups of conspirators, acting in concert with foreign anarchists, should not deter him from carrying out the reforms in the Indian constitution which appeared to be desirable on their merits. The repression of crime is a matter to be dealt with by a good system of police; reforms in the framework of the government of India are a separate affair, and rendered necessary by reasons of permanent validity.



LORD MINTO

The Minto-Morley reforms. In 1909, Parliament passed the Indian Councils Act, popularly known as the Minto-Morley reforms, Lord Morley being Secretary of State for India at the time. The Governor-General's Legislative Council was enlarged to contain sixty members, of whom not more than twenty-eight could be officials. Special constituencies were formed for the purpose of recommending representatives for nomination by Government to the Councils, and twenty-seven seats in the Council were shared by them. The Provincial Legislative Councils were also enlarged. Certain constituencies, for example communities like the Mohammedans and Sikhs, and bodies like universities, Municipal Corporations, and

Chambers of Commerce, were formed to recommend representatives for nomination by Government to these Councils. Official majorities in these Councils were abandoned, and much greater freedom of discussion was allowed. An Indian member was appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General and each of the Provincial Governments, and also to the Council of India, which advised the Secretary of State in London.



THE COUNCIL BUILDINGS, NEW DELHI

Lord Hardinge II. In November 1910, Lord Minto was succeeded by Lord Hardinge. The great event of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty was the visit to India of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, from 2 December 1911 to 10 January 1912. On 12 December Their Majesties held a solemn Darbār at Delhi, when they announced their Coronation to the people of India. His Majesty then took occasion to announce certain boons. Of these, the most important was the modification of Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which was thoroughly unpopular. Bengal was henceforth to be a

Presidency under a Governor in Council ; Bihār, Orissa, and Chota Nāgpur a Lieutenant-Governorship with an Executive Council ; and Assam a Chief Commissionership. Delhi, the historic capital of India, became once more the capital of British India in place of Calcutta. Other boons were a grant of fifty lakhs for education, and the throwing-open of the Victoria Cross to Indian sepoys for gallantry in the field. All these concessions were enthusiastically received, and His Majesty's sympathetic attitude towards the needs and grievances of his Indian subjects aroused a wave of intense loyalty throughout the country.

From Their Majesties' departure in 1912 to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, India pursued a prosperous and, on the whole, uneventful career. Steps were taken to realize His Majesty's express wish that ' there might spread over this land a network of schools and colleges, from which would go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industry and agriculture and all the vocations of life '. In 1913 the Government of India issued a Resolution on education declaring that its policy was to double the number of primary schools. A recurring grant of ten lakhs and a non-recurring grant of sixty-five lakhs was made to the universities. Sir Sankaran Nair was appointed Member for Education, and new universities sprang into being for Benares, Patna, Mysore, Dacca, and Rangoon. The question of indentured labour in Natal, championed by the Hon. Mr Gokhale, was taken up by Lord Hardinge's Government. Royal Commissions sat to deal with the public services, military expenditure and currency. The subject of local self-government was dealt with in an important Resolution. Trade flourished and India appeared to be entering upon a new era of peaceful development.

The First World War. This was the state of things in India when Germany suddenly disturbed the peace of the world by her wanton provocation of war in western Europe

(4 August 1914). One of Germany's cherished schemes was the *Drang nach Osten*, the Eastern movement. She had won over Turkey, and she hoped to control the great railway line running from Constantinople to Baghdad. This line branches off near Aleppo, and runs on the one hand through Mosul to Baghdad, and on the other to Damascus and on to Medina. It was hoped shortly to continue the eastern branch to Basra. Control of this railway would have meant the German domination of the Near East, a base for naval attacks on the ports of Western India, and a direct threat to the key of India, the Suez Canal. India responded magnificently to the call to arms. Her armies had been recently reorganized by Lord Kitchener. The thin line holding off the German attack upon the Channel ports and Paris was hard pressed. England had illimitable resources, but she required time to develop them, and meanwhile the enemy had to be kept back at all costs. Lord Hardinge dispatched to France two of the finest divisions of the Indian army, from Lahore and Meerut.[1] These troops faced most bravely the horrors of a winter in the trenches, and took a prominent share in the fighting round Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, and Loos. They were withdrawn as soon as units from the new armies were ready to take their place. After this, the chief interests in the war, from the Indian point of view, were in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

The campaign in Mesopotamia. In the winter of 1914, the Sixth (Poona) Division set sail from Bombay for Basra. This division was largely composed of Marāthā troops. On landing, this Expeditionary Force advanced rapidly, Basra, Amara, Nasariyeh, and Kut-el-Amara being successively captured. It would have been fortunate had the British Government decided to stop there. Unfortunately the Cabinet considered that it was necessary to obtain some striking success in the East as an offset to the evacuation of Gallipoli. General Townshend was ordered to advance, with totally inadequate

[1] They began to land in France on 26 September 1914.

forces, upon Baghdad, the historic capital of the Khalifs. After a brilliant victory at Ctesiphon, 22 November 1915, he was forced, by overwhelming numbers, to fall back on Kut-el-Amara, where he was besieged. Here, after a number of costly attempts to relieve him had failed, he surrendered after a siege of one hundred and forty-seven days (from 3 December 1915 to 29 April 1916). Great sufferings were endured by the troops engaged in these operations owing to



THE SIEGE OF KUT-EL-AMARA

the failure of medical stores and supplies. A Commission appointed to inquire into the subject severely blamed the Government of Lord Hardinge for this. After the forces had been thoroughly reorganized, a fresh advance was made and Baghdad fell (11 March 1917).

The campaign in Palestine. Meanwhile, General Allenby's army, also very largely composed of Indian troops, advanced from the Suez Canal and entered Palestine. Jerusalem was captured on 9 December 1917. The Turkish army was

destroyed at Megiddo on 18 September 1918, and Damascus fell on 1 October. After this Turkish resistance collapsed. The downfall of Turkey was the signal for a general debacle among the Central Powers.

Thus India took a decisive part in the war. Her troops also rendered important services in other theatres, especially East Africa. The Indian army, which in 1914 numbered 200,000 or less, had grown to nearly a million. It had suffered 106,594 casualties, including 36,696 deaths. India also offered a gift of one hundred and five million pounds to defray expenses. Lord Sinha and the Mahārājā of Bikānīr represented India at the Imperial War Conference, and the latter, together with the Secretary of State, signed the peace treaty on India's behalf.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge as Viceroy in 1916. In 1917 Mr Montagu became Secretary of State for India and in August of the same year made an historic announcement in the House of Commons. It was as follows: 'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.' In order to carry this policy into effect, Mr Montagu visited India in November 1917, and in conjunction with the Viceroy, made exhaustive inquiries into the whole question. A Bill framed on their joint report passed into law in December 1919.

CHAPTER XXXVII

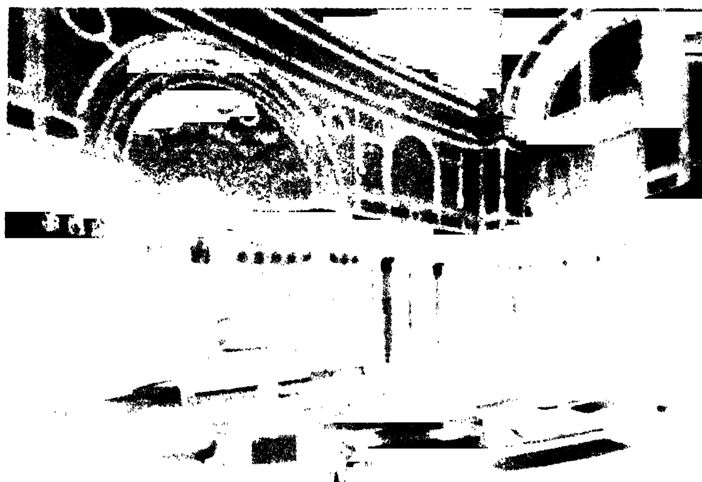
1919-39: The Twenty Years between the Wars

The Government of India Act, 1919. The Government of India Act, 1919, marked the beginning of parliamentary government in India. In the provinces, there were to be enlarged Legislative Councils, at least seventy per cent of the members being elected. Special representation was to be given to important minorities such as the Mohammedans and Sikhs, and the non-Brahmins of Madras. The Governor was no longer to preside at meetings of the Council; his place was to be taken by an elected President. The budget, with the exception of certain non-votable items, was to be placed before the Council, which thus obtained a considerable amount of control over finance. In the Executive, the principle known as diarchy or double rule was introduced. Certain portfolios, such as Law and Order, and Revenue, were to be reserved to the Governor and his Executive Council of from two to four members, one half of whom were to be non-official Indians. Others, such as Excise, Education, Public Health, Local Self-Government, Public Works, and Forests, were to be transferred to Indian ministers chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Governor was to have certain emergency powers in the case of a breakdown of the constitution. The Central Legislature was to consist of two Chambers, a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. The Council of State was to consist of sixty members, half officials, and the other half chosen by the Provincial Legislatures. The Legislative Assembly was to number one hundred, of whom two-thirds were to be elected. The Indian element in the Executive was to be increased, but the Executive was to remain responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State for India.

The Secretary of State for India. The Secretary of State for India was a member of the British Cabinet, and was assisted by

a small council, of whom three were Indians. At the same time, India, like the Dominions, had her own accredited representative in London, known as the High Commissioner for India, who took over much of the agency business, such as the purchase of stores and payment of pensions.

The Chamber of Princes. There were about six hundred Indian states in all, with a population of about ninety millions. They mostly arose after the break-up of the Mogul empire,



THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES, NEW DELHI

though the Rājpūt states go back much further. The rights of their rulers were guaranteed by treaties confirmed by Queen Victoria, when India was taken over by the Crown (*ante*, p. 329). The senior states were Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Kashmīr, Gwalior and Baroda. These states had their own administration, railways and troops, and legislative institutions on the model of British India. In the nineteenth century the Crown representative dealt with each state separately, and the princes did not maintain direct relations

with each other; but as the unification of the country proceeded, the need began to be felt for some arrangement by which their common views could be expressed. For this purpose a Chamber of Princes was established, of which one hundred of the rulers of the senior states were members. The Chamber, which was presided over by the Viceroy as Crown representative, was purely consultative, and had no executive authority.

Political organizations. Mention must be made here of a political organization which has played an increasing part in Indian affairs since 1919. This was the Indian National Congress, which was founded in 1885 at the suggestion of A. O. Hume, a retired Indian civil servant. Its original purpose was 'the development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity which had their origin in Lord Ripon's memorable reign'. It was a rather nebulous body, to which admission could be obtained by payment of a small fee, but there is no doubt that it reflected the opinion of the Indian masses, especially the Hindus. It held annual meetings in various parts of the country, and its policy was directed by a small Working Committee, popularly known as the High Command, at the head of which was an elected President. From 1919 till his death, the acknowledged leader of Congress was Mr M. K. Gandhi, the great nationalist leader, who first rose into prominence by championing his fellow-countrymen's cause in South Africa in 1896. Mr Gandhi's goal was complete



MR GANDHI

independence (*purna swarāj*), and his aim to achieve it by non-violent passive resistance (*satyāgraha*).

Other political bodies were the Mahāsabhā, an orthodox Hindu association, and the Moslem League, presided over by Mr M. A. Jinnah, which aspired to Pakistān, or the setting up of separate states wherever there was a Moslem majority. But these, unlike the Indian National Congress, were sectional organizations.



MR. JINNAH

Working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Whatever might be the limitations of diarchy, a great deal of useful experience in administration was acquired by Indian ministers. The Legislatures also had much valuable social legislation to their credit. Practically all the provinces passed Acts extending local self-government and primary education. The condition of factory workers was improved by a Factories Act (1922), a Workers' Compensation Act (1923) and a Trades Unions Act (1926). Women were admitted to the Legislatures, and much was done in the way of social welfare, and to stop child marriage and other evil customs.

In the field of industry, Indian industries were protected by Acts such as the Steel Industry Protection Act (1924) and the repeal of the cotton excise duty. In 1921, the Imperial Bank of India was founded by amalgamating the provincial banks.

A military college was started at Dehra Dun ; King's Commissions were given to Indian officers, and a scheme for Indianizing the Indian army was instituted. An Indian

Territorial Force and University Training Corps were introduced, and a Royal Indian Navy was established. At the same time, a beginning was made in the progressive Indianization of the Indian Civil Services.

Political unrest. Unfortunately there was little opportunity to give the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms a fair trial. The period immediately following the First World War was one of widespread unrest. There was serious unemployment among the demobilized soldiers. The monsoon of 1918-19 was poor in many parts of the country, and prices soared. A terrible outbreak of influenza was responsible for more deaths than the war itself. The proposals for dealing with terrorist crime in Bengal, made by Mr Justice Rowlatt's committee in 1918, roused much apprehension that they would be misused. In 1919, there were disturbances in Gujarāt and the Panjāb ; on 13 April, at the Jalianwālā Bāgh in Amritsar, General Dyer fired on a meeting which was being held in defiance of orders, and nearly four hundred people were killed and many more wounded. In the following month, the Amīr of Afghanistan attacked India, and was not defeated until the following August, when peace was signed at Rāwalpindi. There were numerous outbreaks among the tribes on the north-west frontier. In 1920 Mr Gandhi started his 'triple boycott' of Government schools and colleges, the law courts and the reformed Legislatures. In spite of this, the first elections went off successfully, and in February 1921, H.R.H.



LORD CHELMSFORD

the Duke of Connaught, uncle of King George V, came out to India to open the first session of the Legislative Assembly and Council of State. He brought the following gracious message from the King-Emperor: 'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of *swarāj* for their motherland. Today you have the beginnings of *swarāj* within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.' His Royal Highness made a moving plea for peace and reconciliation, which, alas, fell upon deaf ears.

Lord Reading. Lord Chelmsford retired in 1921, after the inauguration of the great constitutional changes which he had initiated, and was succeeded by Lord Reading, a distinguished statesman who had been Lord Chief Justice of England. On 17 November 1921, in fulfilment of a long-standing engagement, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales landed in India. His visit was marred by riots organized by the followers of Mr Gandhi. But the charm of the young Prince's personality secured him a great popular reception, and on his departure, the Viceroy was able to assure him that, 'You came on an embassy of goodwill. . . You leave India having won India's heart.' Much discontent had been felt by Indian Moslems at the treatment meted out to Turkey at the Treaty of Sèvres, and this led to the Khilāfat movement, an agitation to get better terms for the Turks. At one time it seemed likely that Moslems and Hindus would make common cause; but in August 1921, an outbreak occurred in Malabar, where the Moplahs, Mohammedans of mixed Indian and Arab descent, treated their Hindu neighbours with horrible barbarity. In 1922, the villagers at Chārī Chaura in the United Provinces, led by Congress volunteers, set fire to a police station and burnt to death its occupants, twenty-one in number. Mr Gandhi was arrested for his share in these disturbances and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, but was released, owing to ill-health, in 1924

Lord Irwin. Lord Irwin, afterwards Lord Halifax, succeeded Lord Reading in 1926. He was the grandson of Sir Charles Wood, the author of India's first educational scheme (*ante*, p. 322). It had always been recognized that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were merely tentative, and that after ten years a Parliamentary Commission should go to India to report on their working. In 1927, the Government decided to antedate this, and a Commission drawn from all parties and both Houses of Parliament visited the country. The committee included no Indian representatives, and the terms of reference were very restricted. For this reason it was boycotted wherever it went by Indian nationalists. Nevertheless, it drew up a valuable report, which formed the basis of further progress.



LORD HALIFAX

The Round Table Conferences. The British Government was determined to leave no stone unturned in order to arrive at a settlement, and the next step was to invite Indian leaders of the various political parties to meet members of the British Cabinet at a Round Table Conference held in London. Three conferences were held in all, in 1930, 1931 and 1932. Lord Irwin persuaded Mr Gandhi to attend the second of these conferences, and it was agreed that during his absence in England there should be a political truce. The conference was unable to come to an agreement on the subject of separate representation for the various communities in the Provincial Legislatures, and Mr Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister,

announced that in the event of a failure to reach a settlement, he would have to make an award himself.

Lord Willingdon. Lord Willingdon, who had been Governor of Bombay and Madras and Governor-General of Canada, succeeded Lord Irwin as Viceroy in 1931. The truce between Congress and the Government of India had broken down in Mr Gandhi's absence, and soon after his arrival, he and many of his followers were arrested on charges of civil



MODERN BOMBAY

disobedience. While in prison, Mr Gandhi started a 'fast unto death' by way of protest against that part of the communal award which gave separate representation to the Depressed Classes. A compromise was reached, and Mr Gandhi was released.

The Government of India Act, 1935. After the conclusion of the Round Table Conferences, a Joint Select Committee was appointed from both Houses of Parliament to collect further evidence, and in 1935, the Government of India Bill

became law. This was a great advance on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, and brought India a further long step on the road to self-government. In the provinces. diarchy was to be abolished, and there was to be full responsible government, including control over Finance and Law and Order. At the centre there was to be, for the first time in the history of the country, an All-India Federation, comprising representatives of both the Provincial Legislatures and the states. The Federal Parliament was to consist of a Legislative Assembly with 250 members from the provinces and 125 from the states, and a Council of State of 260 members 104 of whom were to be from the states.. Diarchy, abolished in the provinces, was to be reproduced in the Central Executive. Foreign Affairs and Defence were 'reserved' to the control of the Governor-General ; the other central subjects were transferred to ministers. As to Dominion status, it was announced that the provisions of the Act which precluded full self-government were to be regarded as purely transitional ; India would duly acquire the same freedom, internal and external, as that of other members of the British Commonwealth. That part of the Act which established federation was not to come into operation until a specified number of states had acceded to it. This never took place, as the requisite number of princes did not agree to acquiesce in the diminution of their sovereign powers. The provincial clauses of the Act came into force in April 1937.

Lord Linlithgow. Lord Linlithgow, who succeeded Lord Willingdon in 1936, had already been to India as chairman of the Indian Agricultural Commission. In 1937, the first provincial elections under the new Act were held, and the Indian National Congress obtained majorities in eight out of the eleven provinces—Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihār, Orissa, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province ; coalition Governments with Moslem premiers were formed in the Panjāb,



LORD LINLITHGOW

Bengal and Sind. The experiment proved successful in many ways, and a number of measures of economic and social reform were introduced, dealing with agricultural indebtedness, education, and the establishment of prohibition. Progress, however, was hindered, especially in the Congress provinces, by communal tension ; this was mainly due to the failure to include Moslems, unless they were party-members, in the Congress Ministries.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1939-45 : The Second World War

Outbreak of war. Such was the situation on 3 September 1939, when England and France were compelled to declare war upon Nazi Germany, which had invaded Poland. India, not having acquired Dominion status, found herself automatically involved without the formal consent of the Legislature. Thereupon the Congress Working Committee withdrew its Ministries in the provinces, and they were taken over by the Governors with the aid of the Civil Service. Soon after, Mr Jinnah, the head of the Moslem League, declared that Mohammedans would not submit to any form of government which placed them under Hindu majority rule. Mohammedans, said Mr Jinnah, were not a minority but a separate

nation, and their goal was Pakistān or independent states for the Moslems.

In the spring of 1940, the war took a disastrous turn for the Allies. Germany, having destroyed Poland, moved her forces to the west. Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium were overrun, and the Anglo-French armies which had moved up to the defence of Belgium were defeated. The small British Expeditionary Force was driven back to Dunkirk and



INDIAN SAPPERS CLEARING A MINEFIELD

evacuated to England, after abandoning its guns and equipment on 3 June. France capitulated on 22 June, and England was left to fight Germany single-handed ; she was only saved from invasion by the heroism of the Royal Air Force. Fortunately, in the hour of her peril, she found a worthy leader in Mr Winston Churchill.

India and the war. Mussolini declared war on Great Britain and France on 10 June. This created a serious situation, as Italy had colonies in North and East Africa, threatening the

vital communications running through the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. Italian armies invaded British Somaliland and Egypt. Little help could be sent from England, and it was lucky that the small but highly trained Indian army, consisting of 180,000 Indian and 50,000 British regular troops, was available. There were also about 45,000 troops from the Indian



A GURKHA OFFICER AWARDED THE VICTORIA CROSS

states. The famous 4th and 5th Indian Divisions were dispatched to Africa. Under the brillant leadership of Sir Archibald Wavell, British, Dominion and Indian troops, advancing from the Sudan, destroyed Italy's East African empire, and captured the impregnable mountain fortress of Keren. The Duke of Aosta, the Italian Viceroy, gave himself up.

The Italians in North Africa were reinforced by the German Africa Corps under General Rommel, and now began an epic

struggle which swayed backwards and forwards in the desert sands until May 1943, when the Germans were driven out of Africa or destroyed. After this, the Allied armies landed in Sicily, and in September the Italians went out of the war. But the Germans still resisted stubbornly, and they were driven back yard by yard through Italy, until they surrendered to Field-Marshal Alexander on 29 April 1945. In all this fighting, Indian troops played a conspicuous part, and showed that they could defeat in open warfare the flower of the German armies. Meanwhile, the 6th, 8th and 10th Divisions were employed in countering attacks by the Germans in Syria, Irāq and Persia, which gravely threatened India, and in keeping open the supply line by way of the Persian Gulf for our hard-pressed Russian allies.

The August offer. Lord Linlithgow was fully aware of the necessity of uniting all the political parties in India in face of the common peril. In August 1940, with the concurrence of the British Cabinet, he made the 'August offer'. Its main points were :

(1) It reaffirmed that India's goal was free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

(2) It promised that immediately after the war, a body representative of the principal elements in Indian national life should be set up to devise the framework of a new constitution, according to their own political, economic and social conceptions. During the war, the Government would do all in its power to bring about a friendly understanding among Indian leaders on the subject.

(3) It stipulated that power should not be transferred to any party whose authority was denied by powerful minorities.

(4) It stated that while sweeping constitutional changes could not be carried out in the midst of a life-and-death struggle, the Viceroy would invite representative Indians to join his Executive Council, and a War Advisory Council

composed of representatives of the states as well as British India should be set up.

Congress rejected the offer as falling short of complete independence, and Mr Gandhi attempted, though with very little success, to start a fresh campaign of civil disobedience.

Japan declares war. On 7 December 1941, Japan launched a treacherous and unprovoked attack on the American military and air bases at Pearl Harbour, and put the United States Pacific fleet temporarily out of action. Three days later, two British battleships, *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, were sunk by Japanese aircraft off the Malay coast. Japanese forces captured Hong Kong and invaded the Philippine Islands. They then advanced through the Malay peninsula, driving the British and Indian forces, including the 9th and 11th Divisions, before them. The great fortress of Singapore, guarding the entrance to the Malacca Straits, fell on 15 February 1942, and sixty thousand British and Indian officers and men surrendered to their barbarous and cruel enemies. The islands in the Dutch East Indies were overrun, and Burma was attacked. Rangoon was evacuated on 7 March, and Mandalay on 1 May. After this, the British retreated to India, evacuating four-fifths of the civil population, over a million in number, after a long and terrible march through the jungle and over the mountains. The Indian frontier was reached by the first British forces on 15 May.

The Cripps offer. In these circumstances, the need for political unity in the face of imminent peril was more urgent than ever, and the Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, to India on 23 March, to clothe the 'August offer' with greater precision. Sir Stafford Cripps was a life-long supporter of Indian freedom, and a personal friend of many Indian leaders. The proposals which he brought with him were as follows :

(1) The creation of an Indian Union constituting a Dominion

equal in every respect to the other Dominions of the Commonwealth.

(2) The framing of a new constitution immediately after the war by a body of Indians elected by Indians.

(3) The participation of the Indian states.

(4) Full liberty for any province not to join the union against its wishes.

In the meantime, all portfolios in the Viceroy's Executive Council were to be transferred to representative Indians except that of Defence. The Congress Party, however, refused to accept this, and demanded that authority should be immediately handed over to a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature, in which the Viceroy would no longer retain his overruling powers. Sir Stafford Cripps declared this to be impossible without constitutional changes of a most complicated character which could not be made in the crisis of a great war, and so the offer was rejected.



SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS

Congress rebellion. In July 1942, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution demanding that Britain should 'quit India', without any arrangements for its replacement; the alternative was to be mass civil disobedience, though at that time the Japanese armies were threatening the north-east frontier of India, and a powerful Japanese fleet was operating in the Bay of Bengal. Outside Congress ranks, the resolution was received with dissent and dismay. On 9 August, immediately after this resolution had been endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee, Mr Gandhi and the members

of the Working Committee were arrested by the unanimous decision of the Viceroy's Council. This action was followed by outbreaks of disorder and sabotage, mainly directed against communications with the Burma front. Railway stations were destroyed, telephone and telegraph wires cut, railway tracks torn up, bridges broken down, and many Government officers were murdered. For some time the troops fighting the Japanese were completely cut off, and India was placed in grave danger of invasion. Order was not restored until the end of September. All other political parties, except Congress and its followers, kept aloof from the rebellion.



LORD WAVELL

The Bengal famine. A disastrous famine, the first of consequence for over forty years, broke out in Bengal in the autumn of 1943. It was mainly due to a cyclone which had devastated the country a year previously, destroying the crops, and to the fact that rice could no longer be imported from Burma. There were, however, other causes, among them being want of co-ordination between the central and local Governments, hoarding and profiteering.

Lord Wavell. In October 1943 Lord Linlithgow retired, after holding office for seven and a half years. No Viceroy since Lord Canning had been confronted with equal anxieties. He was succeeded by Field-Marshal Lord Wavell, who had been Commander-in-Chief in India since March 1942. This was the first time that a serving soldier had held the office. Lord Wavell's first act was to visit the scene of the famine.

Under his vigorous direction, and with the co-operation of the military authorities, matters quickly mended, but not until nearly a million persons had died of starvation and cholera and other diseases.

The defeat of Japan. During the years 1942 and 1943, India was in a precarious position ; the Japanese armies massed on the Indo-Burma frontier were threatening to overrun Bengal, while the flower of the Indian regular army was fighting in the Near East. But the country was now fully aware of its peril. A separate command, known as the South-East Asia Command, under Lord Louis Mountbatten, was set up. A new army, over two million strong, the largest volunteer force in history,[1] was gradually built up. The British Fourteenth Army, consisting of two British, nine Indian and three African Divisions, assisted by American-trained Chinese forces, was ready to take the offensive in June 1944. The campaign had to be carried on in the face of immense difficulties, through dense jungle and over lofty mountains, and in terrible climatic conditions ; but on 20 March 1945, the 19th Indian Division entered Mandalay, and Rangoon was recaptured on 4 May. Meanwhile the American fleet and army had retaken the Philippines. Japan was relentlessly bombed, and surrendered unconditionally on 15 August. Singapore was reoccupied shortly afterwards.

The Royal Indian Navy and Air Force. The Royal Indian Navy, consisting of over a hundred modern vessels with a personnel of nearly thirty thousand, played an invaluable part in anti-submarine work, in protecting convoys, and in the evacuation of Singapore and other places. H.M.I.S. *Bengal*, armed with a six-pounder gun, drove off two Japanese raiders armed with 5-inch guns, sinking one of them. The Royal Indian Air Force, twenty thousand strong and manned

[1] The number of Indian commissioned officers rose from 1,115 to 15,740 during the war, including two brigadiers. Thirty-one Victoria Crosses out of 116 in all were awarded to the Indian army. The total Indian casualties amounted to 180,000, of whom 24,000 were killed.

entirely by Indians, dropped over a thousand tons of bombs on the enemy's lines of communication, supplied our men from the air, acted in support of the ground forces, and helped in hunting submarines and surface raiders.

The Indian states. At the outbreak of war, the Indian princes put their entire resources at the disposal of the King-Emperor, and subscribed generously in men and money. Over three hundred and seventy-five thousand men from the Indian states joined the Forces. Hyderabad, Baroda and Mysore contributed squadrons to the Royal Air Force.

India's economic effort. India was the centre of the Eastern Supply Area, and made important contributions to the war effort. The Tata Steel Works, the largest in the British Empire, turned out immense quantities of iron and steel. Great new ordnance factories manufactured guns, shells, mines, grenades and high explosives, and also rolling stock for use in North Africa and Russia. India had a monopoly of jute, and supplied vast quantities of sand-bags to all fronts ; her cotton mills and clothing factories were busy in making uniforms and tents. Millions of pairs of boots were manufactured at Cawnpore and other places. Rubber, silk for parachutes, timber, blankets and medical drugs were only a few of the other materials supplied. Indian mechanics, known as ' Bevin boys ', were sent to England for training. In consequence of all this, India greatly benefited financially, and is now a creditor instead of a debtor nation.

Summary. We have now come to the close of our brief survey of the history of India up to the end of the Second World War, and the foreshadowing of the end of British rule. The history is almost unique, for whereas other civilizations arose and perished, that of India remained, substantially the same in spite of changes and modifications inevitable in the course of ages, from the Vedic period to that time. During

this period, she was invaded, overrun, and partially conquered by various races, until at last the English made themselves masters of the entire country.

How far did India profit from the British connexion? Let us first take the question of protection. We have already seen how terribly India suffered from invasions in the past.

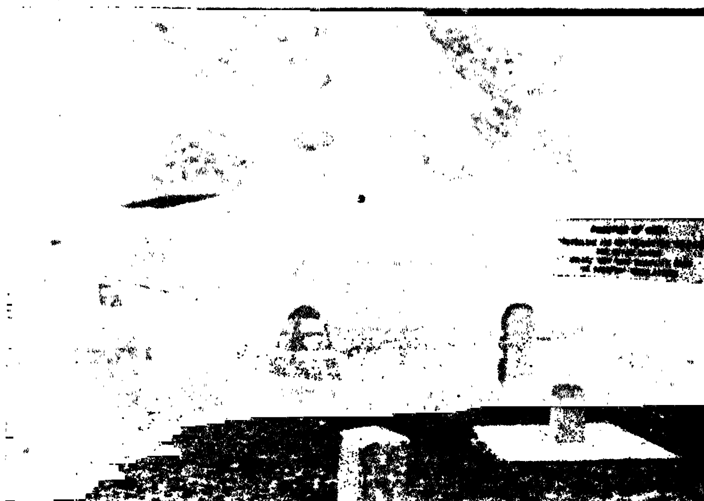


MODERN MADRAS

Tīmūr (*ante*, p. 119) butchered upwards of a hundred thousand prisoners when he invaded Hindustan in 1398, and left the great city of Delhi an uninhabited ruin. A similar fate overtook the capital in 1739, when Nādir Shah massacred thirty thousand of the inhabitants (*ante*, p. 230). Religious shrines were not immune from desecration; in 1024, Mahmūd of Ghaznī sacked the famous temple of Somnāth (*ante*, p. 93).

In a word, the north-west frontier was always a menace to the peace of India, and from its gates countless hordes poured down upon her fertile plains.

After the English took over the country, this was stopped. During the period of the British occupation, the Indian army was reorganized : great fortresses and strategic railways guarded the Khyber and Bolān Passes, with bases at Peshāwar



THE FRONTIER POST KHYBER PASS

and Quetta. During both the world wars, India was immune from attack, and German and Japanese invasions aimed against both her western and eastern frontiers were warded off. Then there was the safeguard afforded by the British navy. India now maintains navies of her own ; but for the powerful protection of the British fleet, she paid practically nothing. And what an enormous advantage India reaped from this fact ! Even in times of war, her shores were free from invasion and the supplies which she received from foreign

countries were not cut off. Besides, the presence of a strong navy always stimulates trade, and under British rule the great ports of Bombay, Karachi, and Calcutta sprang into existence. At the zenith of the Mogul empire, India could only boast of insignificant ports like Surat and Broach.

Secondly, let us take the question of internal order and security. In ancient times, under strong rulers like Chandragupta Maurya and Akbar, India was efficiently policed ; but these rare intervals were followed by long periods of anarchy and rapine. Even in the days of Akbar, it was impossible for travellers to go by the great high-road from Surat to the capital without an escort, as the country was infested by Rājpūt freebooters. Still worse was the state of things at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the whole of Central India was ravaged by the Marāṭhā horsemen, until Lord Hastings restored peace by exterminating the Pindāris. Now a traveller can go from one end of the country to the other with perfect security.



THE LOOK-OUT POST. SHABKADAR

Next let us take the question of famine and disease. India, like other oriental countries, had always been subject to these scourges. Famine caused more deaths than the cruelest invasions, and constant references in the old historians show that

it was of frequent occurrence. Nothing was done, except by private doles, to mitigate this curse. Now, owing to railways and good roads, food can be quickly transported to a famine-stricken district. Irrigation has supplied huge tracts of land with perennial water, and there are large reserves of money ready for such emergencies. Plague, too, ravaged the country ; we hear of a terrible outbreak in Gujarāt in 1616. This disease, together with cholera and malaria, is steadily being overcome by improved sanitation and by the introduction of the latest methods of prevention and cure.



THE SUKKUR BARRAGE

Lastly, let us take the question of self-government. Although we hear dimly of tribal assemblies at certain times in ancient India, practically all the Governments mentioned were absolute monarchies. The Maurya empire was organized on efficient lines, but it was a pure bureaucracy, wherein order was maintained by a highly-organized system of espionage and by cruel punishments. Akbar was a benevolent but absolute despot. Sivājī's council of eight (*Ashta Pradhān*) was chosen without reference to the people.

From the days of Warren Hastings, England recognized her responsibilities with regard to India. The British Parliament jealously watched the conduct of its servants in the East, and

punished acts of irresponsible tyranny. As early as 1804, Lord William Bentinck enunciated the maxim that British greatness, if it were to be enduring, must be founded on Indian happiness. Twenty years later, Sir Thomas Munro, in an official minute, pointed out that the object of British rule was 'so far to improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves'. Every Bill passed by Parliament from the Regulating Act of 1773 (*ante*, p. 261), Pitt's India Act of 1784 (*ante*, p. 274), and the successive renewals of the charter (*ante*, pp. 278, 293, 309, 323) led to important improvements in the administration of India. The Act of 1833 opened the door to Indians for public employment.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 marked a further important advance. In 1861 Councils were established, and Indians were for the first time allowed a voice in framing laws and limiting the power of the Executive. In 1892 the Councils were enlarged. In 1909 the number of Indians was greatly increased and the Councils acquired the power of criticizing the Government. Then came the Act of 1919 which practically converted the Councils into a House of Commons, with a non-official majority and control over finance. Later, the Government of India Act of 1935 gave the country complete provincial autonomy, and at the centre, had the Act been implemented, there would have been an All-India Federation. In 1942, the British Government promised India the right, after the war, to draw up her own constitution, within or without the Empire.

Thus it will be seen that during one hundred and eighty years of British rule, India enjoyed peace and prosperity such as she seldom, if ever, knew during the troubled years of the past, and steadily moved forward on the path of self-government, as the progress of education and enlightenment prepared her to use properly these privileges. And finally, under British rule, India became conscious of herself

as a nation. Even to a patriot like Sivājī, the word 'India' meant nothing. To him, the Marāthās were one nation and the Bengalīs another. Now India is a nation in sentiment as well as in fact, and it is the duty of every citizen to do his best to further her progress.

British Period : Leading Dates

A. The East India Company

1746-8	War of the Austrian Succession
1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle
1751-4	Second Anglo-French War
1756	Sirāj-ud-daula captures Calcutta
1756-63	Seven Years' War
1757	Battle of Plassey
1760	Battle of Wandiwash
1764	Battle of Buxar
1765-7	Clive, Governor of Bengal
1767-9	First Mysore War
1773	Regulating Act
1774-85	Warren Hastings, Governor-General
1775-82	First Marāthā War
1780-4	Second Mysore War
1781	Battle of Porto Novo
1784	Pitt's India Act
1786-93	Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General
1788-95	Impeachment of Hastings
1790-2	Third Mysore War
1793	Permanent Settlement of Bengal
1793	Charter renewed
1793-8	Sir John Shore, Governor-General
1798-1805	Lord Wellesley, Governor-General

1799	Fourth Mysore War
1802	Treaty of Bassein
1803	Second Marāthā War
1805	Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General
1805	Sir George Barlow, Governor-General
1807-13	Lord Minto I, Governor-General
1809	Treaty of Amritsar
1813	Charter renewed
1813-23	Lord Hastings, Governor-General
1817-19	Third Marāthā War
1817	Battle of Kirkī
1818	Final overthrow of the Peshwās
1823-8	Lord Amherst, Governor-General
1824-6	First Burmese War
1828-35	Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General
1829	Abolition of suttee and thuggee
1836-42	Lord Auckland, Governor-General
1838	'Tripartite Treaty'
1838-42	First Afghan War
1842-4	Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General
1843	Annexation of Sind
1844-8	Lord Hardinge I, Governor-General
1845-6	First Sikh War
1848-56	Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General
1848	Doctrine of Lapse
1849	Second Sikh War. Panjāb annexed
1852	Second Burmese War
1853	Charter renewed
1856-62	Lord Canning, Governor-General
1857-9	Indian Mutiny
1858	End of the Company

B. India under the Crown

1862-3	Lord Elgin I, Viceroy
1864-9	Lord Lawrence, Viceroy
1869-72	Lord Mayo, Viceroy
1872-6	Lord Northbrook, Viceroy
1876-80	Lord Lytton, Viceroy
1878-80	Second Afghan War
1880-4	Lord Ripon, Viceroy
1880	March of Roberts to Kandahār
1883	Ilbert Bill
1884-8	Lord Dufferin, Viceroy
1885	Third Burmese War
1888-94	Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy
1894-9	Lord Elgin II, Viceroy
1895	Chitrāl Expedition
1896	Plague in Bombay
1897	Tirāh Expedition
1899-1905	Lord Curzon, Viceroy
1901	Death of Queen Victoria
1905	Partition of Bengal
1905-10	Lord Minto II, Viceroy
1909	Indian Councils Act
1910-16	Lord Hardinge II, Viceroy
1911	Visit of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary
1914-18	First World War
1916-21	Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy
1918	Rowlatt Report
919	Disturbances in the Panjāb and Gujarāt Jalianwālā Bāgh incident
919	Afghan War. Peace of Rāwalpindi

1919	Peace Treaty signed between England and Germany
1919	Government of India Act
1921-6	Lord Reading, Viceroy
1926-31	Lord Irwin, Viceroy
1930-2	Round Table Conferences
1931-6	Lord Willingdon, Viceroy
1935	Government of India Act
1936-43	Lord Linlithgow, Viceroy
1939-45	Second World War
1942	Fall of Singapore. Invasion of Burma
1943-7	Lord Wavell, Viceroy
1945	Capitulation of Germany and Japan
1946	Cabinet Mission
1947	Lord Mountbatten, Viceroy
1947	End of British Rule. Independence
	Establishment of the Dominions of India and Pakistān

EPILOGUE

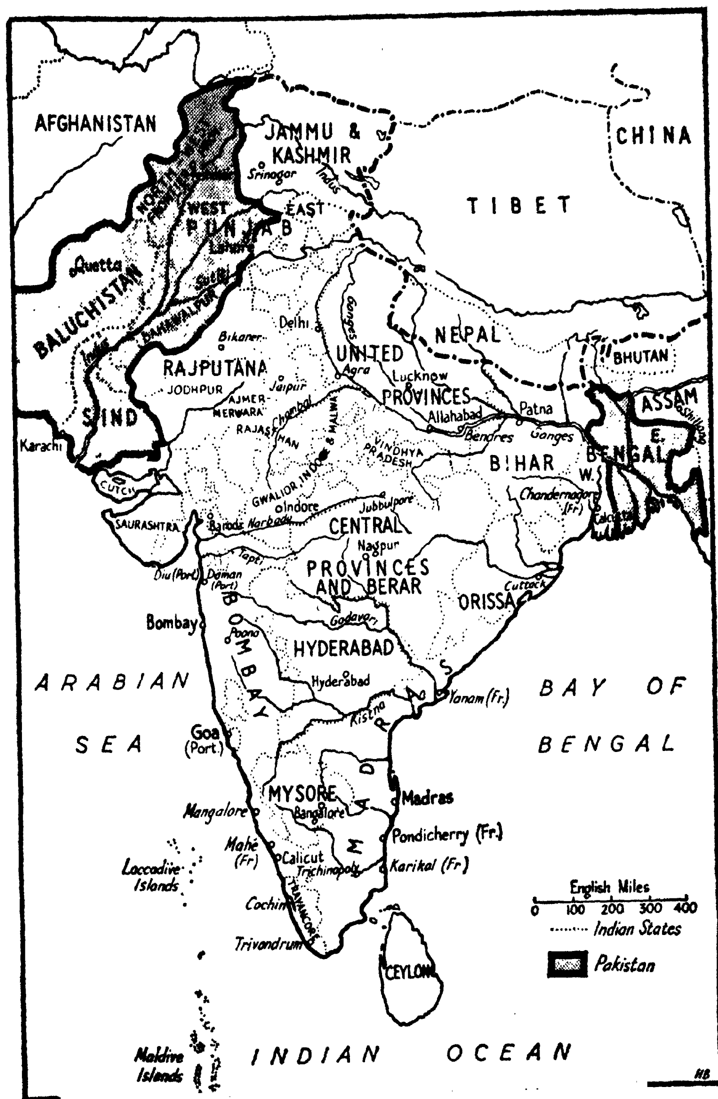
INDIA AND PAKISTĀN

CHAPTER XXXIX

1945-9 : The Cabinet Mission ; Independence

The end of the war. In 1945 the Second World War was drawing to a close, and the British Government took steps to carry out the undertaking made at the time of the Cripps Mission in 1942 that the future constitution of India should be drawn up by a body of Indians elected by Indians themselves. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, went to England for consultation, and on his return the Congress leaders were released and parliamentary government was resumed in the provinces. Lord Wavell called a Round Table Conference at Simla in order to form an interim Government to carry on the work until the new constitution was drawn up, but the Hindu and Moslem leaders could not reach an agreement. Meanwhile, unrest was growing, and rioting occurred in many districts.

The Cabinet Mission. In order to put an end to this state of affairs, the Labour Government, which had now come into power, determined to send out a Mission, consisting of the Secretary of State (Lord Pethick-Lawrence), Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr A. V. Alexander, all of whom were members of the Cabinet. Its duties were to bring the two parties together, and help them to arrive at a settlement. All its efforts to do so failed, and in the end, the Mission was forced to put forward its own scheme. In order to give the provinces as much freedom as possible without splitting up the country, it was proposed that an Indian Union should be set up, in which the powers of the central Government should be limited to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Further, the



INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN 1948

provinces would be at liberty to form themselves into groups, each with its own Government. If this idea were adopted, three groups would emerge : the Panjāb, Sind, Balōchistan and the North-West Frontier in the north-west ; Eastern Bengal and Assam in the north-east ; and Hindu India. In this way it was hoped to preserve the unity of India and at the same time give the Moslems the substance of Pakistān. This plan broke down because the Moslems wished for the groups to vote as a single unit, while the Hindus claimed that each province had the right to decide for itself whether it should join the group or not.

Independence. As all attempts to reach agreement by consent had broken down, Mr C. R. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons on 20 February 1947 that on a date not later than June 1948, power would be handed over to an Indian Government which, resting on the support of the people, would be capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. At the same time it was announced that Lord Wavell would be succeeded as Viceroy by Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, a cousin of the King and a distinguished naval officer. It was hoped that Lord Mountbatten would be Governor-General of an undivided India, but this hope was not destined to be fulfilled. The prospect of the withdrawal of British rule filled the Moslems with fears about their future under a Hindu majority, and more rioting broke out in different parts of the country. Lord Mountbatten flew home to England to lay his views before the Government, and on 5 July 1947 a Bill was laid before Parliament, providing for the establishment of the two Dominions of India and Pakistān with full powers, vested in their constituent Assemblies, to draw up their future constitutions. The defence forces were to be divided proportionately to the population. Lord Mountbatten was to be Governor-General of India, with his capital at Delhi, and Pandit Jawaharlal

Nehru was to be his Prime Minister. Mr M. A. Jinnah was to be Governor-General of Pakistān, which was to consist of two parts, Western and Eastern. Karachi was to be the capital. Independence Day was celebrated on 15 August amid national rejoicings in both Dominions.

The Boundary Commission. In order to fix the boundaries between the Dominions, Boundary Commissions, each consisting of four High Court judges under the common chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe, were set up. As the members of the Commissions disagreed, the chairman made an award. This passed off quietly in Eastern Bengal, mainly owing to the efforts of Mr Gandhi. In the Panjāb, on the other hand, the Sikhs were infuriated because the line of demarcation cut their community into two halves, leaving many shrines and landed estates in Pakistān.[*] Terrible fighting broke out between the Sikhs and Moslems, and soon the countryside was covered with vast hordes of homeless and starving refugees, moving in opposite directions and fleeing for their lives. Many of these convoys were massacred, and matters were made worse by floods. The bitter feelings aroused led to a terrible tragedy. Mr Gandhi had transferred his headquarters to Delhi, and was making great efforts to put down communal strife there as he had done in Calcutta. This made him hated by Hindu extremists, and he was murdered by a body of these men when on his way to a prayer-meeting. The crime sent a thrill of horror through the country, but it had one good effect. It filled all classes with shame, and communal discord and violence became much less. Great efforts were made by the Indian Government to find work and homes for the refugees. They were housed in camps until permanent homes could be found for them, and by the middle of 1948 the situation had greatly improved.

The new constitution. In February 1948, the draft of the new constitution was published. India was to be a 'sovereign democratic republic', but later, at a meeting of the Dominion

Premiers, an arrangement was made by which she remained within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The constitution was to be a federal one, with a Union Parliament consisting of two Houses. Untouchability in the shape of denial of access to temples, wells, schools and railways, was abolished.

Retirement of Lord Mountbatten. In June 1948, Lord Mountbatten retired. In his short period of office he had piloted India successfully in her difficult passage to freedom, and no English Governor-General was ever more beloved by the Indian people. He was succeeded by Mr C. Rājagopalachari, a veteran Congressman who had been Premier of Madras and Governor of West Bengal.

Pakistān. Pakistān had the disadvantage of being divided into two groups of states, separated by over a thousand miles. Eastern Pakistān was less affected by the terrible troubles which had afflicted the rest of India, and good progress was made with the development of the port of Chittagong as an outlet for trade. In Western Pakistān, on the other hand, the situation was grave. Great damage had been done to Lahore and other cities of the Panjāb, and trade had almost been brought to a standstill. The question of the resettlement of the refugees from India strained all the resources of the Government, and there was some unrest among the Pathāns of the North-West Frontier Province. At one time the dispute between India and Pakistān brought the two Dominions to the verge of war, but this disaster was happily avoided. On 11 September 1948 the country was deeply shocked by the death of Mr M. A. Jinnah, *Quaid-i-Azam*, at Karachi. Mr Jinnah more than any single person was responsible for the creation of Pakistān, which had been his ideal for twenty years. 'A united India', he declared, 'was an impossibility, for it meant the rule of one nation over another. It was better to divide India and flourish than to fight for a united India and destroy everything.' He was

succeeded by Khwāja Nazimuddin, the premier of Eastern Bengal. The future constitution of Pakistān has not been decided, and it remains a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Indian states. It had been laid down in the Indian Independence Act that when the British withdrew, the paramountcy of the Crown over the states would lapse, and would not be transferred to successor Governments. Most of the rulers signed instruments of accession to the Dominion in which they were situated, and in India, Sardar Patel, the head of the States Ministry, took active steps to integrate them with the rest of the country. The smaller states were taken over, while others were formed into confederations or groups for the purpose of joining the Indian Union. The most important of these groups was the United States of Rājasthān, which occupied a vast stretch of country in western and central Hindustan.

Difficulties arose in states where the ruler was a Moslem and the subjects were Hindus, and vice versa. Thus in the great state of Hyderabad, the Nizām was a Moslem, and his subjects mostly Hindus by religion. The Nizām claimed the right to be an independent sovereign, and refused to sign an instrument of accession to either India or Pakistān, though he was willing to make treaties with both. This claim was disallowed by the Indian Government, and Hyderabad was invaded. There was little resistance, and the state was put under military government until a constitution was drawn up.

In Kashmīr, the reverse was the case. The ruler was a Dogra Rājpūt, and the bulk of his subjects were Moslems. During the disturbances which followed at the end of the war, fighting broke out between the Dogras and the Moslems, and the Pathān tribesmen from the north-west frontier came to the help of their co-religionists. The Mahārājā of Kashmīr appealed for help to the Government of India, and Indian troops were sent by air just in time to save the capital of

Srīnagar from destruction. Fierce fighting took place, and this eventually involved Pakistān. Fortunately war between the two Dominions was averted, and the question was referred to the United Nations. The Security Council recommended the appointment of a Commission of five to hold a plebiscite, with Admiral Nimitz, a distinguished American naval officer, as arbitrator,

APPENDIX A

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes Chiefs, and People of India

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our Crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the

benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

APPENDIX B

IMPERIAL MESSAGE OF KING EDWARD VII TO THE PRINCES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA

2 NOVEMBER 1908

IT is now fifty years since Queen Victoria, my beloved Mother, and my August Predecessor on the Throne of these realms, for divers weighty reasons, with the advice and consent of Parliament, took upon herself the government of the territories theretofore administered by the East India Company. I deem this a fitting anniversary on which to greet the Princes and Peoples of India, in commemoration of the exalted task then solemnly undertaken. Half-a century is but a brief span in your long annals, yet this half-century that ends today will stand amid the floods of your historic ages, a far-shining landmark. The proclamation of the direct supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian Government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race, under British guidance and control has proceeded steadfastly and without pause. We survey our labours of the past half-century with clear gaze and good conscience.

Difficulties such as attend all human rule in every age and place have risen up from day to day. They have been faced by the servants of the British Crown with toil and courage and patience, with deep counsel and a resolution that has never faltered nor shaken. If errors have occurred, the agents of my Government have spared no pains and no self-sacrifice to correct them; if abuses have been proved, vigorous hands have laboured to apply a remedy.

No secret of Empire can avert the scourge of drought and plague, but experienced administrators have done all that skill and devotion are capable of doing to mitigate those dire calamities of Nature. For a longer period than was ever known in your land before you have escaped the dire calamities of war within your borders. Internal peace has been unbroken.

In the great charter of 1858 Queen Victoria gave you noble assurance of her earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all resident therein. The schemes that have been diligently framed and executed for promoting your material convenience and advance—schemes unsurpassed in their magnitude and their boldness—bear witness before the world to the zeal with which that benignant promise has been fulfilled.

The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved, and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving. No man among my subjects has been favoured, molested, or disquieted by reason of his religious belief or worship. All men have enjoyed protection of the law. The law itself has been administered without disrespect to creed or caste, or to usages and ideas rooted in your civilization; it has been simplified in form, and its machinery adjusted to the requirements of ancient communities slowly entering a new world.

The charge confided to my Government concerns the destinies of countless multitudes of men now and for ages to come; and it is a paramount duty to repress with a stern arm guilty conspiracies that have no just cause and no serious aim. These conspiracies I know to be abhorrent to the loyal and faithful character of the vast hosts of my Indian subjects, and I will not suffer them to turn me aside from my task of building up the fabric of security and order.

Unwilling that this historic anniversary should pass without some signal mark of Royal clemency and grace, I have directed that, as was ordered on the memorable occasion of the Coronation Darbār in 1903, the sentences of persons whom our Courts have duly punished for offences against the law should be remitted, or in various degrees reduced; and it is

my wish that such wrongdoers may remain mindful of this act of mercy, and may conduct themselves without offence henceforth.

Steps are being continuously taken towards obliterating distinctions of race as the test for access to posts of public authority and power. In this path I confidently expect and intend the progress henceforward to be steadfast and sure, as education spreads, experience ripens, and the lessons of responsibility are well learned by the keen intelligence and apt capabilities of India.

From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgement of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs.

I recognize the valour and fidelity of my Indian troops, and at the New Year I have ordered that opportunity should be taken to show in substantial form this, my high appreciation, of their martial instincts, their splendid discipline, and their faithful readiness of service.

The welfare of India was one of the objects dearest to the heart of Queen Victoria. By me, ever since my visit in 1875, the interests of India, its Princes and Peoples, have been watched with an affectionate solicitude that time cannot weaken. My dear son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales returned from their sojourn among you with warm attachment to your land and true and earnest interest in its well-being and content. These sincere feelings of active sympathy and hope for India on the part of my Royal House and Line only represent, and they do most truly represent,

the deep and united will and purpose of the people of this Kingdom.

May Divine protection and favour strengthen the wisdom and mutual goodwill that are needed for the achievement of a task as glorious as was ever committed to rulers and subjects in any State or Empire of recorded time.

[*A Message read by his Excellency the Viceroy in Darbār at Jodhpur, 2 November 1908.*]

APPENDIX C

KING GEORGE V's MESSAGE OF 1914

To the Governments and Peoples of his Self-Governing Dominions

During the past few weeks the peoples of my whole Empire at Home and Overseas have moved with one mind and purpose to confront and overthrow an unparalleled assault upon the continuity of civilization and the peace of mankind.

The calamitous conflict is not of my seeking. My voice has been cast throughout on the side of peace. My Ministers earnestly strove to allay the causes of strife and to appease differences with which my Empire was not concerned.

Had I stood aside when, in defiance of pledges to which my Kingdom was a party, the soil of Belgium was violated and her cities laid desolate, when the very life of the French nation was threatened with extinction, I should have sacrificed my honour and given to destruction the liberties of my Empire and of mankind.

I rejoice that every part of the Empire is with me in this decision.

Paramount regard for treaty faith and the pledged word of rulers and peoples is the common heritage of Great Britain and of the Empire.

To the Princes and Peoples of India

Among the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the population of my Empire in defence of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate

devotion to my Throne expressed both by my Indian subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and the Ruling Chiefs of India, and their prodigal offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm.

Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in the conflict has touched my heart, and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, have ever linked my Indian subjects and myself.

I recall to mind India's gracious message to the British nation of goodwill and fellowship which greeted my return in February 1912, after the solemn ceremony of my Coronation Darbār at Delhi, and I find in this hour of trial a full harvest and a noble fulfilment of the assurance given by you that the destinies of Great Britain and India are indissolubly linked.

APPENDIX D

THE KING'S PROCLAMATION

25 December 1919

George V, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, to my Viceroy and Governor-General, to the Princes of Indian States and to all my subjects in India of whatsoever race or creed, Greeting :

1. Another epoch has been reached today in the annals of India. I have given my Royal assent to an Act which will take its place among the great historic measures passed by the Parliament of this Realm for the better government of India and for the greater contentment of her people. The Acts of 1773 and 1784 were designed to establish a regular system of administration and justice under the Honourable East India Company. The Act of 1833 opened the door for Indians to public office and employment. The Act of 1858 transferred the Administration from the Company to the Crown and laid the foundation of public life which exists in India today. The Act of 1861 sowed the seed of representative

institutions and the seed was quickened into life by the Act of 1909. The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the government and points the way to full responsible Government hereafter. If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress ; and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you today to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future.

2. Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line. In 1858 Queen Victoria, of revered memory, solemnly declared herself bound to her Indian subjects by the same obligations of duty as to all her other subjects ; and she assured to them religious freedom and the equal and impartial protection of the law. In his message to the Indian people in 1903 my dear father, King Edward VII, announced his determination to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration. Again in his Proclamation of 1908 he renewed the assurances which had been given fifty years before and surveyed the progress which they had inspired. On my accession to the Throne in 1910 I sent a message to the Princes and Peoples of India acknowledging their loyalty and homage and promising that the prosperity and happiness of India should always be to me of the highest interest and concern. In the following year I visited India with the Queen Empress and testified my sympathy for her people and my desire for their well-being.

3. While these are the sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my Predecessors have been animated. the Parliament and the People of this Realm and my Officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India. We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves. But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated : the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against Foreign aggression is a duty of common imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The

burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength; but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment.

4. I have watched with understanding and sympathy the growing desire of my Indian people for representative institutions. Starting from small beginnings this ambition has steadily strengthened its hold upon the intelligence of the country. It has pursued its course along constitutional channels with sincerity and courage. It has survived the discredit which at times and in places lawless men sought to cast upon it by acts of violence committed under the guise of patriotism. It has been stirred up to more vigorous life by the ideals for which the British Commonwealth fought in the Great War and it claims support in the part which India has taken in our common struggles, anxiety, and victories. In truth the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connexion with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history which that connexion has opened to the Indian people. Without it the work of the British in India would have been incomplete. It was, therefore, with a wise judgement that the beginnings of representative institutions were laid many years ago. Their scope has been extended stage by stage until there now lies before us a definite step on the road to responsible Government.

5. With the same sympathy and with redoubled interest I shall watch the progress along this road. The path will not be easy and in the march towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that these high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assemblies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure misrepresentation, to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries; and, while retaining the confidence of the Legislatures, to co-operate with my Officers for the common good in sinking unessential

differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely upon my Officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindliness; to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions; and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people.

6. It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in the future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly government to forget the extravagances which they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my Officers to work together for a common purpose. I, therefore, direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgement is compatible with the public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter.

7. Simultaneously with the new constitutions in British India, I have gladly assented to the establishment of a Chamber of Princes. I trust that its counsel may be fruitful of lasting good to the Princes, and the States themselves may advance the interests which are common to their territories and to British India and may be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole. I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights, and dignities.

8. It is my intention to send my dear son, the Prince of Wales, to India next winter to inaugurate on my behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitutions in British

India. May he find mutual goodwill and confidence prevailing among those on whom will rest the future service of the country, so that success may crown their labours and progressive enlightenment attend their administration.

And with all my people I pray to Almighty God that by His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment, and may grow to the fullness of political freedom.

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